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Exploring care agencies as key drivers of the circular migration of live-in care workers

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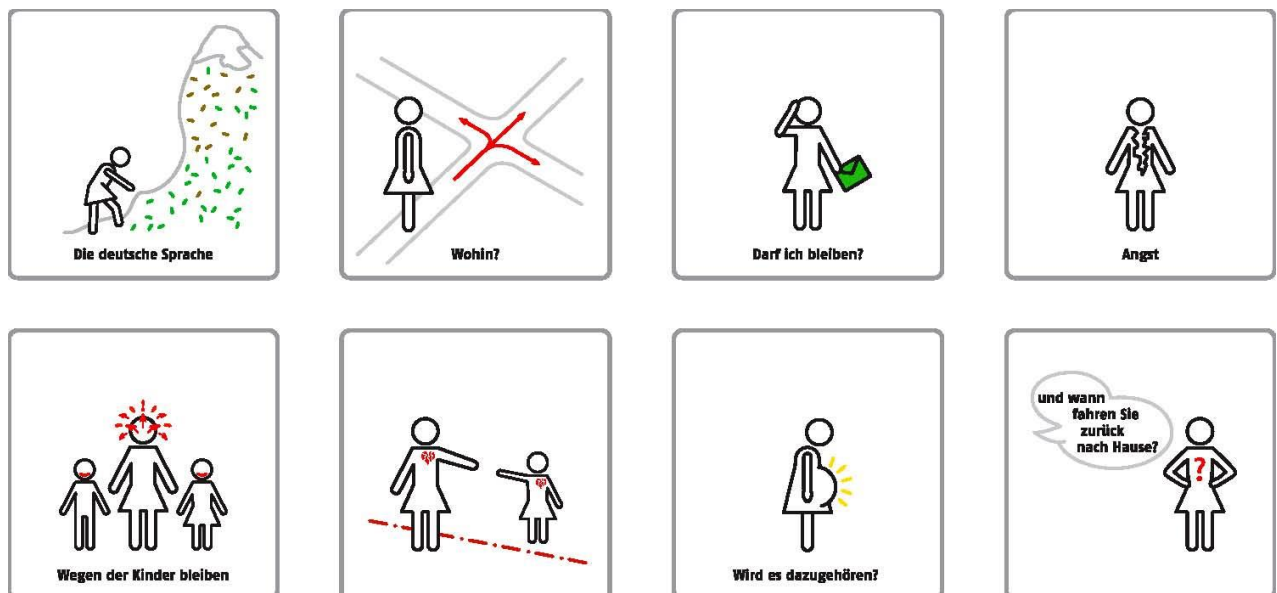
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Themenheft:
Migration

Liebe Leser_innen,

mit etwas Verspätung liegt diese Ausgabe der Feministischen Geo-RundMail zum Thema Migration vor. Migration ist ein Kernthema von Feministischer Forschung und auch von Geographischer Forschung. Weltweit sind heute mehr Leute transnational unterwegs als in den letzten Jahrzehnten. Momentan wird viel über spezifische Migrationsbewegungen gesprochen: Wir sprechen über Flucht. Wir sprechen über ‚brain drain‘. Wir sprechen über temporäre, nachfrageorientierte und unabhängige Arbeitsmigration. Wir sprechen über Bewegungen innerhalb der Europäischen Union. Wir sprechen über Menschenhandel. Wir sprechen über undokumentierte Migrant*innen. Wir sprechen über globale Wanderung aus dem sogenannten globalen Süden in den globalen Norden. Entweder formell oder informell, entweder legal oder illegal. Migration ist eine Normalität in unserer Zeit.

Gender ist dabei ein zentrales Thema – in Bezug auf alle Formen, Gründe und Auswirkungen der Migration. Gender beeinflusst die Gründe für die Migration, wer auswandert und wer bleibt, die sozialen Netzwerke, die Migrant*innen benutzen, um auszuwandern, Integrationserfahrungen und Arbeitsmöglichkeiten im Einwanderungsland und die Beziehungen mit dem Herkunftsland. Das heißt: Geschlecht gestaltet jede Ebene von Migrationserfahrungen und ihre Machtdynamiken. Dieses Thema erzeugt gerade deswegen neue Fragen, neue Handlungsmöglichkeiten und neue Bedürfnisse im Hinblick auf ihre geschlechtsspezifischen Aspekte.

Mit diesem Heft (und auch in dem CFP) habe ich keine spezifischen Schwerpunkte gesetzt oder Fragen gestellt, weil ich Erweiterungen, neue Themen und Stichwörter und frische Perspektiven mit diesem Thema entdecken wollte. Ob die (geschlechtsspezifische) Migrationsforschung neue Perspektiven gefunden hat oder ob sie neue Definitionen entwickelt hat oder wo die Erweiterungsmöglichkeiten liegen. Ich wollte diese Antworten durch die Beiträge erfahren und verstehen. Dieses Themenheft hat den Fokus auf aktuelle Forschungen oder Bewegungen mit unterschiedlichen Fragestellungen und Perspektiven über (geschlechtsspezifische) Migration auf die oben genannten Fragen

anzusprechen oder um einen inter- und transdisziplinären Austausch möglich zu machen und weiter zu diskutieren.

Christian Berndt, Huey Shy Chau, Katharina Pelzelmayr und Karin Schwiter erklären in ihrem Beitrag wie *care agencies* eine große Rolle als Vermittler mit der grenzübergreifenden Mobilisation der Arbeitsmigration spielt und wie die transnationale Mobilisation der Sorgearbeiterinnen* erfolgt. Heidi Kaspar zeigt in ihrem Beitrag eine andere Perspektive auf Sorgearbeitsmobilität in der Welt: wie alte Leute aus dem Norden in den Süden gehen, um günstige Pflege zu erhalten und wie dadurch gängige globale Sorge/Care-Ketten umgekehrt geworden sind. Alexandru Firu, Richard Bůžek und Olena Mankivska legen den Fokus auf „care-drain“ und ihre Auswirkungen auf zurückgelassene (alte) Leute in Rumänien, die folglich eine soziale Marginalisierung erleben. Hans Peter Hahn und Friedemann Neumann berichten über Ihr Projekt „Mobile Welten“ und die Rolle der materiellen Kultur und ihrer Interaktion im transkulturellen Kontext mit alltäglichen Praktiken und Begegnungen. Weiter stellt Friedemann Neumann vor wie alltägliche Dinge sehr wichtig im post-migrantischen Kontext sind und gibt ein Beispiel, dass eine *Kitchenette* wie ein Emanzipationsraum für sie, aber eine Konflikts-Sphäre in Bezug auf ihre Beziehungen mit ihrer Familie geworden ist. Elif Cigdem Artan erklärt wie eine Migrantinnenselbstorganisation (Bundesverband der Migrantinnen in Deutschland) ihre partizipatorische Ausstellung durchgeführt hat, um ihre Erfahrungen und das alltägliche Leben im post-migrantischen Kontext zu visualisieren. Abschließend zeigt Carsten Blecher wie Fußball in der Gesellschaft sowohl als Instrument für Integration wirken kann als auch Ausgrenzung schaffen kann.

Ich danke herzlich allen Autor*innen für ihre Beiträge und wünsche viel Spaß beim Lesen!

Duygu Bräuer (geb. Aloglu), Berlin

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Themenschwerpunkt Migration

Beiträge zum Themenschwerpunkt

Christian Berndt, Huey Shy Chau, Katharina Pelzelmayer and Karin Schwiter, Zürich

Exploring care agencies as key drivers of the circular migration of live-in care workers

Our 4-year project '*care markets: the role of care agencies in the commodification of elderly care*', funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation, gave us the opportunity to explore the circular migration of live-in care workers to German-speaking Switzerland. In the following sections, we first give a brief overview of the project and then summarise the findings of the two PhD dissertations of Katharina Pelzelmayer and Huey Shy Chau which originated from the project.

The 'care markets' project

Every day, women move in and out of Switzerland in order to provide care for the elderly. Enabled by the bilateral agreement of the Free Movement of Persons with the European Union, which came into full effect in 2011, these women provide care of the elderly in all-inclusive, around-the-clock packages: so-called 24-hour care. They are recruited by private sector agencies which market care services that promise the presence of a care-worker in their private homes at all hours of the day. The care-workers, mainly women from Poland, Slovakia and Hungary, generally work for two to twelve weeks at a time, a period during which they stay as so-called live-ins at the household they work in. After a two to twelve-week deployment, they usually return to their families while another care worker looks after the elderly person. Thus, many workers spend considerable time going back and forth, regularly crossing state borders. The literature has conceptualised their pendular movements as a form of temporary, circular migration or circular mobility.

In our project '*care markets*' we investigate the rise of 24-hour care in German-speaking Switzerland with particular focus on the private care agencies who define this emerging field of circular mobility for work and thus have become key drivers of the marketisation of care. We examine the role of agencies as intermediaries in a cross-border labour market and explore the ways in which care agencies hire workers in some countries and sell packaged care services to the elderly and their families in another. Placing the analytical focus on the strategies and practices of 24-hour care agencies, we seek to understand the consequences of this re-configuration of elder care in Switzerland and compare it to the more established live-in care markets of Germany, Austria, Canada and the UK. In terms of emerging patterns of mobility, we examine how Swiss care agencies have acted as facilitators of work-related cross-border mobility. Methodologically, we work with document and discourse analyses, and conducted interviews with agencies and a number of stakeholders in the 24-hour care market.

Our results indicate that care agencies play a key role in not only shaping the private care market, but importantly also the highly mobile live-in care-givers' working conditions and the definition of care as a marketable good. In the specific context of the Swiss migration and labour regime, they not only serve as organisers of cross-border home care but, crucially, also as enablers and gatekeepers in the care labour market.

Katharina Pelzelmayer

Discussions of 24-hour care: implications for mobile women's conditions of work

In my PhD thesis, I explore questions of work and power in 24-hour care. Labour rights activists, care workers, regulators, journalists and academics have identified 24-hour as a to date an unresolved and poorly regulated labour market based on a highly mobile and temporary labour force. As 24-

hour care is legally speaking employment at the private household, the Swiss federal labour law does not protect this line of work. Only more fundamental and general laws like the “law of obligations” offer possibilities of legal and social protection to 24-hour care workers. The ensuing precariousness concerning working conditions is of particular salience, since the majority of 24-hour care workers move in regular intervals to and fro Switzerland for the sole purpose of providing live-in care. In the following paragraphs I discuss the ways in which this precariousness for mobile workers plays out and is inscribed through *discussions* of 24-hour care.

My findings are based on an analysis of how agencies, researchers and the media discussed 24-hour care in German-speaking Switzerland between September 2013 and 2015. Around forty agency websites served as primary data. Agency websites have been the pivot of the emerging market in 24-hour care, since they are the platforms on which all parties involved in 24-hour care meet – where they gather information and where live-in care arrangements are ultimately initiated. Analytically, they are of significance since they are the spaces where the novel employment and service of 24-hour care has been most directly described during the market’s emergence and the period of enquiry. For example, my analysis shows how on care agency websites, 24-hour care is articulated in terms of a certain kind of “heart-felt warmth” (*Herzlichkeit* in German) that is attributed to women from particular places and countries. Furthermore, the thesis drew on discursive contributions by the media, public bodies, scholarship, individual care workers and live-in care workers’ associations. Theoretically, it works with feminist engagements with work and care, gender and bodies.

The thesis consists of five research papers and one framework paper (see list of publications below). Respectively, the papers analyse discussions of workers’ “difference” and the mechanisms by which their poor remuneration is justified and by which they become embodied “live-in care-giver” subjects. They discuss workers’ political and social participation, as well as the power and limitations of discursive construction in the media. In the papers, I pay particular

attention to central discursive narratives, in particular various discussions of care workers’ so-called heart-felt warmth, their designation as “female care migrants” (*Care-Migrantinnen*), and analyses of Othering processes of mobile care workers described as “ethnicisation” in the literature.

The five research papers illustrate the *power* of these central narratives. In particular, they suggest that the specific ways in which 24-hour care has been discussed underlie the inequalities in the field and serve to sustain problematic working conditions for circularly mobile care workers. The discussion of 24-hour care-givers in terms of “female care migrants” illustrates the power of these narratives. As I argue in my article *Places of Difference*, the particular use of “female care migrant”, or *Care-Migrantin* in German, in the discourse designates live-in care-workers as first and foremost circular migrants and dis-locates them from their work place, Switzerland (see also a discussion of this paper in *Feministisches Geo-Rundmail* No. 69).

By critically investigating central narratives, the thesis illustrates the fundamental significance of discursive narratives for how we understand the mobile bodies who perform individual live-in care to the Swiss elderly. In showing how the discursive dis-location of care workers from Switzerland underlies mobile workers’ poor pay and justifies problematic working conditions, the thesis points to the political consequences of discursive power – to devalue mobile women’s work. In drawing attention to the significance of words in the perpetuation of inequalities, the thesis makes a feminist contribution to interdisciplinary scholarship on emerging fields of care and patterns of mobility.

Huey Shy Chau

Brokering Labour Migration: The role of home care agencies in migrant care workers’ journeys to Switzerland.

In my dissertation, I trace the routes migrant women take into live-in care work in Switzerland and examine the care agencies’ recruitment and placement practices. Taking care agencies as a vantage point I ask how care workers’ transnational movement is enabled, which is key to grasp the configurations that control their mobility and migration. The analysis is based on participatory observation, qualitative

interviews and informal conversations with care agents, recruiters, care workers, a unionist, a government official, and other relevant individuals involved in the mediation of care workers. I present the results of my thesis in form of a mobile ethnography. The monograph gives insight into stories and moments that I consider relevant for the mobility of migrant care workers and the constitution of labour migration for live-in care work. It shows how care agencies, in collaboration with recruitment and transportation partners, hone in on the organisation of migrant care workers' journeys from their own homes to households where they work. Moreover, it discusses the live-in care workers' movement in relation to the interplay between cost-reducing and profit-maximising business practices of care agencies on the one hand and government regulations and practices on the other.

My findings indicate that care workers undertake a specific journey that is shaped by home care agencies as intermediaries and by the development of specific migration infrastructures for that journey. By offering all-inclusive home care, the agencies introduce new patterns of work-time organisation in the form of short-term and 'in-time' deployments and in the form of customisation and individualisation of deployment contracts. These require workers to be flexible and replaceable and they contribute to the isolation of the workers at their workplaces. Furthermore, my dissertation shows how care agencies build pools of flexible and disposable care workers through spatially selective recruitment from Eastern Europe and hence, contribute to the production of a gendered migration channel into live-in care work. By selecting migrant care workers along lines of gender, origin, age and socio-economic background they not only essentialise migrant carers, but also discriminate would-be care workers from other places. In sum, I argue that whereas attempts to control labour migration largely took place at territorial boundaries before the agreement on the free movement of persons, they have now shifted to less visible borders within and around labour markets, such as the home care market, and have partly been delegated from state authority to recruitment agencies and care-recipients that select and employ care workers.

Project publications

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Berndt Christian, Chau Huey Shy, Pelzelmayer Katharina and Schwiter Karin (2017). *Care Markets: The role of care agencies in the commodification of elderly care*. Final report to the Swiss National Science Foundation.

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Heidi Kaspar, Zürich

The circulation of love and transfers of care in transnational medical travel

This text is the introduction of a manuscript that will be submitted to University of Toronto Press as part of an edited volume edited by Margaret Walton-Roberts: 'Global Migration, Gender and Professional Credentials: Transnational Value Transfers and Losses'. The paper had been presented at an international workshop of the same title in May 2017 at the Balsillie School of International Affairs in Waterloo, Ontario.

Since the Global Care Chains approach has come to life, it has been producing narratives about how the South is subsidizing the North with man- and mostly women-power in the caring industries such as childcare, housekeeping and nursing. The migration of (more or less) formally trained and experienced people from countries of the South to take care of people in the North constitutes a key engine and manifestation of this transaction. As it transfers labor resources from disprivileged to privileged places, the migration of care workers from the South to the North has been named as a 'perverse subsidy' (Macintosh et al. 2006).

However, other types of care mobilities are emerging that bear the potential to yield similar kinds of 'perverse

subsidies'. First, elderly people in the North/West with long-term intensive or extensive care needs move to (or are moved to) regions where good care is cheaper, or available in the first place (Horn et al. 2016). Second, patients in the search for cure, alleviation from suffering, prolonged life, increased beauty or wellness travel to places distant from their place of residence to receive treatment (Bell et al. 2015; Bochaton 2015; Holliday et al. 2015; Kangas 2002; Kaspar & Reddy 2017; Ormond 2013; Roberts & Scheper-Hughes 2011; Schurr 2016; Song 2010; Thompson 2011; Whittaker & Speier 2010; Whittaker et al. 2017). Unlike with movement of elderly people, the sojourn abroad is temporary, closely linked to their treatment. However, the duration of stay is often unclear; it often extends over weeks, months or even years (Pian 2015). This type of care mobility is commonly called medical tourism or medical travel or as I consider it more appropriately therapeutic itineraries. The current literature suggests that it is mainly patients from the Global North traveling to 'medical tourism destinations' in the Global South, such as Thailand, Malaysia or India.

Against the backdrop of long-term migration of care workers, the migration and traveling of patients constitutes an inversed mobility. The mobile agent is swapped: It is those who seek care who become mobile and those who give care who remain moored. The direction of mobility is reversed, flowing from the North to the South. The transfer of care, though, is the same as for 'classical' care mobilities: people from the South provide care to people from the North.

This paper follows Raghuram's (2012) call to challenge and enrich the concept of global care chains through the inclusion of a more variegated sample of empirical cases. I suggest that transnational medical travel offers valuable insights that enrich the debate on global transfers of care. On the one side, transnational medical travel has been celebrated as boosting low- and middle-income countries' national economies and modernize their ailing healthcare systems (Edmonds 2011). On the other side, medical travel has been criticized as the continuation of imperialist, i.e. neo-colonial practices (Buzinde & Yarnal 2012). More recently, though, research reveals a more nuanced picture of the

multilayer processes and kinds of mobilities commonly subsumed under the notion of medical travel. My own empirical study on the metropolitan region of Delhi (India), one of the leading medical travel destinations in Asia (Reddy & Qadeer, 2010: 70), contributes to this emerging body of research.

Based on a multi-sited ethnography on transnational medical travel, including destination and source sites, namely India and Uzbekistan, I argue that a range of very different transfers are simultaneously at play in medical travel to Delhi metropolitan region. Diversity refers both to the entity transferred as well as the direction of the transfer. In fact, the transfers involved in transnational medical travel are less linear and occur along other than classical neocolonial connections, too.

In this paper, I focus on care transfers as they unfold in embodied, everyday care work in transnational care settings through the lens of global care chains. The presented empirical data show the complexity of care relations in transnational settings; medical travel is not a simple chain, but rather a vibrant network (see also Yeates 2012: 150) constituted of circulations, i.e. of moving bodies, materials, information, emotions and values. On top of this, circulations spur further transfers that we are at the brink of understanding at best. Unboxing transfers, instead of just naming the transfers happening of course is one of the core legacies of global care chain research, an approach that is particularly fruitful, because it allows understanding the power relations enmeshed in these care networks in a nuanced way. Furthermore, global care chain research has been preoccupied with the effects of commodification of care, particularly the emotional component of it. In this paper, I try to think through one aspect of care work in a highly commercialized transnational care arrangement by combining global care chains with the concept of affective economies. The case allows asking, how and to what extent caring about and love work change when embraced by corporations and market principles.

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Alexandru Firus, Richard Bůžek, Olena Mankivska, Frankfurt am Main

What happens after care drain? A nexus between external migration, peripheralization, institutional (dis)involvement and NGO action on elderly care in the EU's Nord-Est¹ Romanian region

Lehrforschungsprojekt im Rahmen des M.A. Seminars „Gesundheit und Globalisierung“, Institut für Humangeographie an der Goethe-Universität in Frankfurt am Main, Februar-Juli 2017

Introduction

The concept of Global Care Chains (GCC) (Hochschild, 2000) has achieved an important positioning within the academic discourse of the last decade. However, the phenomenon of *Care Drain* has remained only marginally researched, despite it being an integral part of the conceptual GCC framework.

One of these research gaps yet to be further bridged concerns the effects of massive out-migration of labor force from Eastern EU countries on their elderly relatives left at home. Unlike children left behind, who have drawn much scholarly attention and to some extent have been the object

of different institutional policies, the situation of the elderly has been rather overlooked.

Such a place in question is Romania. The newer EU member state exhibits one of the most vigorous work-related migration phenomena on the European continent, with the total value of remittances for the year 2015 at around 3,2 Billion US \$ making also for the highest in the EU (World Bank 2016). Notwithstanding that much of these mobilities can be regarded as short-term circular migration, facilitated by the newly acquired freedom of movement through EU citizenship and fueled by large scale economic imbalances, the subsequent pull-out effects bring about a geographical separation of families, leaving more vulnerable individuals, especially the very young and the old, subject to deprivation of care and other forms of social insecurity. Against this backdrop, public social services fail to counterbalance the newly emerged vacuum of reproduction and care provision within families.

Our research focuses on the current state of elderly care in the EU region of Nord-Est in Romania, one of the poorest regions within the EU. Given the context of massive socio-economic disparities and considering recent tendencies in EU cohesion policy, which now push towards increased competitiveness, we argue that restrained access to care services for Romanian seniors and their social marginalization are structurally linked with uneven development and represent an outcome of peripheralization processes. Thus, we suggest that care drain is inseparably linked with unfavorable socio-spatial regional development and carries with it prospects of a further deteriorating livelihood. Moreover, the structural weakness of the state is also to be taken into consideration. Romania has traversed harsh austerity policies under the Communist regime throughout the 1980s (Nelson 1988), the transition period of the 1990s marked by industrial decomposition and often arbitrary privatization, followed by a neoliberal shock-therapy of the early 2000s, culminating with the accession to the European single market in 2007. These events have taken their toll on the current

¹ The Romanian term “Nord-Est”, equivalent of “North-East” in English, represents the international official denomination for this

EU development unit and is also the term we chose to use for this paper.

capacity for assertiveness of the state and its role as a guarantor of social equity.

Nord-Est, roughly overlapping the historical region of Moldova on its Romanian side, is the most populous² of the eight NUTS-2 regions in Romania and one of the EU's massively affected by external migration, estimated at approximately 1/3 for the entire country (see CDR Nord-Est, 2015, 66). It is characterized by widely stretched rural areas, heavily deindustrialized small towns and a few growing larger cities that attract much of the locally available work force, whereas its overall economic development index shows numbers even far below the country average, amounting here to around 63% or a GDP per capita of 4700€ (Eurostat, 2016). Its distinct social and economic peripheral position can be scrutinized from different angles of view, but the lack of major infrastructural projects and the subsequent neglect from both internal and external economic exchanges can be considered as signs of selective institutional planning.

Peripheral spaces are to be seen as actively produced by conscious human action and not as a result of any deterministic factors. Therefore, we conceive the peripheral social and economic situation in Nord-Est as deliberately induced by state or European planning mechanisms. The region's exclusion from vital infrastructural connections and the general disregard for its immediate economic needs reflect a recurrent tendency for prioritization at higher decision levels, which acts in accordance to discriminatory market interests, rather than being based on an all-encompassing socio-economic sustainability.

In order to understand how far care drain can be seen as an outcome of peripheralization processes, we conducted interviews, in May 2017, with an official from the field of regional development, as well as with relevant civil actors involved in the provision of elderly care in one of the region's counties, Bacău.

Peripheralization, competitiveness and institutional support for elderly care

One of our interview partners was, in Piatra Neamț, Vasile Asandei, the general manager of the Regional Development Agency for the Nord-Est region (ADR Nord-Est), the institution which administers here the European Regional Development Fund. Answering a question regarding an open letter of the mayor of Iași, the largest city in Nord-Est, who deplored a long existing and "regrettable indifference" of policy makers towards the region (see Andrei, 2017), Asandei opted for a rather reserved stance and avoided to make political comments. Nevertheless, he indicated:

"It is a reality that the region of Moldova hasn't had the benefits of infrastructure for a long time. Perhaps there is a sort of... I don't know if it can be called disinterest. Anyhow, it didn't receive an increased attention, for it to be supported."

He also acknowledged the critical situation of social services in Nord-Est arising from the linkage between migration, poor infrastructure, and economic backwardness:

"Now it is easy to go abroad, to move away. This intensifies our problems [...] Things are extremely interwoven. The effects are devastating."

Since a weakened state seems to set its priorities in a preferential manner, the other major alternative for regional improvement continues to be the EU funding. However, it has lately become increasingly evident that the orientation at a macro EU level, mainly due to the latest economic crisis, has already started to shift from the cohesion approach to a much more aggressive principle of competitiveness (Wigger, 2015). Asandei has reinforced this observation also:

"Actually, the EU faces a problem. It wants to be more competitive in the competition against other important actors. That is why this principle is being replaced, the principle of social

² The available data for its population number show contradicting results. According to the general census from the year 2011, the region had around 3.3 million inhabitants, whereas statistics from the year 2013 place this number at around 3.7 million (see CDR

Nord-Est, 2015, 60), with both figures standing for the highest population number in any NUTS-2 region in Romania. The Regional Development Plan for Nord-Est uses nevertheless the statistics from 2013.

and economic cohesion, little by little, by a competitiveness principle."

However, this new guideline in the European regional economic planning, in its bid to stimulate economic growth by channeling funds into business initiatives and by attempting to create a rich environment for small and medium enterprises, excludes long term investments in social work on grounds of economic non-viability. Such incentives have been nonetheless here present during the first funding period of Romania's membership in the EU.³ Asandei explained:

"The programme phase [of the EU regional development programme] 2014-2020 comes with some changes, in the sense that the European Union does not finance anything residential anymore [...] They [residential facilities] have become large and costly [...] It is in vain to have a good strategy to support the elderly. Maybe it is in vain to also finance social services through the Operational Regional Programme, or through other programmes, where those elderly are being helped to live a better life at home."

Instead, the financing strategy of the European Commission and of the ADR aims at the effect of a sustained growth in the private sector, which would spur companies to become socially responsible:

*"If the region doesn't develop with support from behind, then we will be facing these problems [lack of social provision] in an aggravated manner [...] If in a city you finance, I don't know, 50 smaller companies, it is obvious that the social impact becomes visible."*⁴

This assumption might find backing in the fact that the Romanian neoliberal state allows companies to "donate" or redirect 20% of their income taxes to social projects. By implication, the state would try thus to compensate for its very

meager direct contribution to social welfare. In the case of elderly care, more than half of it is being provided by NGOs that can also claim state funding. As an example, for the entire year of 2012, the state made available roughly 400 euro per individual for 23.906 aged persons in need of home care. Aside from the very low sum of money, state support had covered here only 6% of the demand for the whole country, whereas partial figures for more recent years point out to a similar situation (SenioriNET, 2015).

The main asset of a very impoverished region like Nord-Est in a Europe-wide competitive framework would remain its unrealized economy. Asandei:

"We try to determine young people to return home, because the region has a very high and unutilized economic potential. We try to turn our advantages into disadvantages. [...] It is much easier to make any product here in Nord-Est than in Berlin or Paris. Perhaps there are 100 or 1000 there who do the same. "

Although there are obvious difficulties of being competitive as a region that is still economically isolated, Asandei expressed confidently:

"In a normal development of a society, you must not always expect non-repayable grants to come from somewhere else."

The competitiveness mindset also resurfaces in how the EU regional development funding is being allocated for social services. Asandei:

"They [companies] have a designated sum of money. They compete among each other and the best obtain the funding. NGOs and social services compete among each other [...]. Each category has its own rules, guidelines, assessment grid, and designated sum of money."

However, it is to be noted here that there are also other ways for providers of elderly care to obtain EU-funding, outside the context of regional development. For instance, the state

³According to a yet unreleased report document presented to us by the ADR Nord-Est, the Operational Regional Programme for Nord-Est financed between 2007 – 2013 a number of 55 various social projects, amounting to almost 53 million euros. These investments addressed mainly the refurbishment and modernization of residential facilities, including several nursing homes for the elderly.

⁴ Out of around 8,2 billion that the Regional Development Plan for Nord-Est has at its disposal for the period 2014-2020, 2,2 billion are allocated for "Priority 3: Support for a competitive economy and local development". The rest of this sum of money is about evenly distributed among the other strategic priorities for human capital, local infrastructure as well as optimal usage and protection of natural resources (see CDR Nord-Est, 2015, 335-345).

mandated Operational Programme Human Capital 2014-2020 (POCU) for Romania, with a contribution of 4,3 billion euro from the European Social Fund, allocates 941 million euro out of a total of around 5 billion euro for social inclusion and fighting poverty. Out of these, 15 million have been so far been aimed directly at the well-being of the elderly through the project *“bunicii comunității”* or *“community grandparents”* (“POCU: MFE a lansat”, 2016), where individual care service providers can apply for a share of this sum and use it to improve the quality of their work concerning home care, food provision and the creation of day centers. “Community grandparents” does not include support for residential facilities.

For the funding period of 2014-2020, there exists also the very ambitious mainly EU-supported National Programme for Rural Development, which is equipped with financial means of around 9,3 billion euro. This doesn’t address the problem of the elderly directly, but nevertheless targets a general betterment of living conditions in rural areas throughout the country.

In regard to Nord-Est and the issue of its peripheralization, progress still seems to be advancing at a very slow pace. The construction of a much-awaited highway, which would effectively connect the region westwards to other EU NUTS-2 regions in Transylvania and therefore to the wider European road network, is only vaguely scheduled between 2021-2030 (see CDR Nord-Est, 2015, 142). This even though the exclusively EU-funded Operational Programme for Large Infrastructure (POIM) assigns for the years 2014-2020 around 11,8 billion euros for the modernization of Romania’s transport and energy grids.⁵

Peripheralization doesn’t only reduce though to the exclusion from an adequate infrastructure. Out-migration, high poverty levels, an aging population, limited access to services, dependency from economical centers, marginalization, as well as the stigmatization of poorer regions and of their inhabitants are equally contributing to the creation of

peripheries (see Fischer-Tahin & Naumann, 2013, 20p.). All these aspects are interrelated, negatively influence each other within a self-perpetuating vicious circle of socio-economic decline and are continuously being redefined by uneven power relations with other more developed regions. The thus socially constructed configuration can roll back positive trends towards economic development, despite good initial conditions for growth (see Müller, 2013, 188p.), and maintains peripheries, such as Nord-Est, trapped in a never-ending race to catch up with others. Therefore, care drain in our regional case study can be understood as a very strong expression of uneven development within the EU, whereas the principle of competitiveness, lately advocated by the European Commission, only seems here to strengthen the vicious circle of peripheralization.

NGO stance, work with the elderly in the periphery and overall external migration

Gabriela Achihăi, another expert we interviewed and president of the NGO *Fundația de Sprijin Comunitar* (FSC) or the *Foundation for Community Support*, which operates in the provision of elderly care services, including home ambulant care, expresses her overall dissatisfaction with the role taken by the EU in the question of elderly care and disagrees on the efficiency of its grant application procedures:

“I would say that the EU helped a lot Romania to improve the life conditions of the children living in institutions and to reform the system. [...] And really nothing, I would say, for the other categories, for the older people [...] Yes. We had such grants from the EU. Very bureaucratic. It is a masterpiece of bureaucracy ever [...] If you do something, you have to have thousands of papers to justify [the intentions with the finances].”

The FSC was founded in the late 1990s as a local initiative supported by international advisory and donations. Its area of activities covers services for children and the elderly who

⁵ In total, there are eight mostly EU-funded, partially state-funded large economic development programmes in Romania, which manage a total of around 27,7 billion euro for the years 2014-2020. Much smaller sums of money, also for social services, are available

from partnerships with third parties such as Switzerland or the EEA countries (“Fonduri Europene Structurale”, 2015; “Granturi SEE&Norvegiene”, n.d.).

require additional help and support in their everyday upkeep. It is the largest organization of this type in the county of Bacău and one of the most active in the entire region. The finances that make its mission possible come from company sponsorship, donations from abroad, and state or EU incentives. Even so, the FSC is compelled to charge for their services. The prices here for elderly provision range from a few euros for one home visit in ambulant care to several hundreds of euros per month for an integrated care package and around the clock supervision in a nursing home.

In our discussion with Achihăi, the issue of peripheralization was explicitly enunciated, and conclusively, it would also establish the setting for FSC's organizational work:

"Rural Romania is very different from the rest of Europe. Because of these specifics, villages are isolated, infrastructure is very bad, there are no local working places, people live on subsistence farming, there are no jobs, and people tend to survive from day to day."

This view on Romania addresses particularly its Nord-Est region, where the share of local population engaged in agricultural activities comprises around 48% from the total. By comparison, the country-wide statistics show here a percentage of 29% (see CDR Nord-Est, 2015, 290). Its predominant rural trait speaks greatly for the condition of the elderly. Much of the aged population was previously engaged in agricultural work within state-organized cooperatives of the Communist era, activities which are now eligible only for a minimum monthly pension of around 100 euro. Moreover, the traditional form of household life and the gendered division of responsibilities among family members are here, as in most parts of Eastern Europe, still the rule, rather than the exception.

This not only sharpens the effects of migration among younger individuals, but steadily contributes to the creation of irregularities, like care drain, that entail new needs to quickly rethink and readjust coping strategies. Therefore,

we suggest that care drain does not pertain only to the migration of nurses and care givers, but rather encompasses the entire stream of out-migration of mainly, although not only, female individuals, which has a bearing on the balance in the existing type of family life.

Achihăi explicitly described this matter in question and revealed thereby many of our research assumptions regarding migration, care drain, and state deficiency:

*"Here [in Romania] [there] is no national system to provide services for the population. We just have a health care [system] that is structured on primary health care with family doctors and hospital care. And if someone needs other services, then it is a problem, a trouble. Traditionally, in Romania, people care for the elderly through their families. But this is not the case anymore, since the young generation is migrating [...] You see villages with [only] children and old people. They [the elderly] do not have their [adult] children, they do not have support, and then they end up having a lot of problems of immobility, poverty and lack of resources to have a decent life. And old people become ill, and they cannot work anymore and they end up being alone in homes with no care."*⁶

The precariousness of the entire situation of elderly care in Romania also brings forth civil society initiatives that attempt to place this topic in the forefront of public view and add pressure on an otherwise seemingly very passive state. The most important of them is the NGO network SenioriNET, established under the banner of Caritas, with important financial support from the Swiss-Romanian Cooperation Programme. The network, which unites a consortium of 44 organizations from the field of elderly work, released in 2015 a very comprehensive position paper, where alongside a critique headed at the state on the lack of transparency and public consultations in the process of decision making, underfunding, as well on disregarding the effects of external migration, it also makes suggestions for tackling these problems (SenioriNET, 2015).

⁶ If for the entire Nord-Est the dependency rate of the elderly, that is to say the number of persons over the retirement age of 65 being sustained by persons able to work aged 15-64, lies at 206/1000,

figures extracted only for the rural areas in the region reach an extremely worrying ratio of 500-600/1000 (see CDR Nord-Est, 2015, 71).

Gabriela Achihăi is nevertheless doubtful about the hitherto effectiveness of this Caritas-lead NGO platform and inter-organizational cooperation, notwithstanding that the FSC is one of its active members:

*"We had lot of changes on the top levels, in the ministries and all [throughout] the top. People come and go, they have their own agendas. I think Caritas should be more aggressive and go public and make some big impact on public awareness. And the government just ignores everything."*⁷

If collective NGO efforts to acquire the needed space for elderly care on the policy agenda have been so far brushed aside by the state, the thus triggered public debate on the topic and the ensuing campaigns for raising awareness among the population have achieved, nevertheless, more success. In 2014, the TV station PRO TV, which has coverage country-wide, aired a series of reports called *"Tu știi ce mai fac părinții tăi?"* or *"Do you still know how are your parents doing?"*, showing interviews with elderly left at home, as well with their adult-children abroad. The broadcast also presented the case of Vasile Silvaș, an elderly man living in the FSC nursing home, and reached peak audience ratings, with about 2,5 million viewers on its first episode (*"Prima editie a noului sezon"*, 2014).

A newer attempt to open the topic for discussion, also initiated by Caritas, is the creation of an Elderly Forum, which held its first session in April 2017. Within this deliberative body, representatives of the elderly community, assembled within a newly created Parliament of the Elderly, join together with members of NGOs involved in care provision and take strategic action towards government policies

concerning their situation. The results of their workings should serve as "an instrument for communication with the government" (*"Confederația Caritas România"*, 2017), whereas the entire efforts here have been thus far only marginally publicized and would therefore lend themselves to further research.

The migration of trained care workers

Apart of the alarming effects of the overall external migration of younger family members, the FSC encounters major obstacles also due to the shortage of skilled personnel. This setback has implications that reach even far into the urban core and presents another piece of evidence for the very grim picture of care provision for the entire region: Achihăi:

"Many of our trained care givers prefer to work abroad, of course, because we pay them the minimum wage. Going abroad and working there gives them a lot more, even if they work without contracts.

[...] We employ, for example, 6 home care givers in the city of Bacău. [...] and the need is for 35 home care givers."

Vasile Asandei, in response to the critique of SenioriNET on the scarcity of available care workers and the need for skilling new work force, disagrees with the focus on the frail state as the sole responsible for the existing situation and sees the solution to the problem at a European regional level, through inter-institutional debates mediated by his agency. From his position as a spokesperson for a EU funding office, he states:

ibid., Anexa 2). The proposal, later to be adapted to a general elderly protection reform, has been criticized at that time by NGOs and has not explicitly issued activity reports thus far. Moreover, the country experienced for the past 10 years an almost on-going political instability and, indeed, a too often change of policy experts and government objectives, which can hinder such initiatives from recording any significant progress and making their presence felt in society.

⁷ The Romanian government has presented, however, in 2015, "The National Strategy for an Active Aging and Protection for the Elderly 2015-2020", which mainly targets an improved and prolonged participation of persons close to the retirement age in the labor market, their delayed aging, by addressing general health concerns, and the social inclusion of the elderly through voluntarily activities. Needs in elderly care are identified in the document, but placed secondarily and accompanied only by a very broad action plan (see Ministerul Muncii și Justiției Sociale, Anexa 1, 2015;

“They [the NGOs] have a problem and send their request to the Ministry of Labor. The Ministry receives 1000 such requests and it solves how many it can. No. The approach should be started at a lower level. They should discuss with us, for us to discuss with the school, with the education authority, with the university, without sending anything to the Ministry. The Ministry of Labor cannot solve this problem in a real sense.”

In contrast to other European countries enjoying a better economic situation, Romania rarely attracts foreign migrants to fill in socio-economic gaps. Instead, these newly emerging needs in the labor market are countered in many cases through the mobilization and employment of mainly rural and often poorly educated subsistence farmers. The FSC, for instance, is accredited to offer professional training courses for nurses and it uses this to hire new, heavily predominant female care workers, originating from different disadvantaged social groups, who have been previously left outside the market spectrum. Thus, Marx’s concept of the “reserve army of labor” finds expression also in the case of social work in the form of a “female reserve army of reproduction”, while creating at the same time a distinct gender-based intersectional configuration.

Lenuța Năstac, the director of a nursing home, run by the same organization in a small town near Bacău, where around 2/3 of the accommodated elderly have their close relatives abroad, tells us in relation to this matter:

“They [the employment office] barely have any nurses to send to us [...] We hired very simple personnel [...] There are women who are usually doing only temporary work, like on the crop fields or chopping wood [...] We had the courage to employ them, to train them in first-aid, care work, nursing, or palliative care.”

Cosmin Timofte, head nurse in the same establishment, adds about one of their care workers coming from a disadvantaged community:

“We were able to slowly start working with her. She developed nicely. She comprehended some things: how to nurse the patient, how to communicate, how to give him food, how to position him, you know? But as a matter in fact, she didn’t know how to write.”

However, the core staff at this FSC nursing home is still constituted from a few highly-skilled care givers that had previously worked abroad in live-in care and who, due to negative personal experiences and worsening working and remuneration conditions in some western European countries, are prone to cease with their work-related migration and resume occupation at their home surroundings. Despite the much less substantial payment received here, in most of the cases equaling the Romanian minimum wage, the example of these several care givers points out to a certain tendency for disruption in the usually very fluid stretch of the European care chains. Năstac:

“The Romanian female care givers don’t have this willingness and this joy anymore to go to Italy and work there. News gets around that the Italians mock them and put them to very hard work. Well, we are not generalizing, ok?”

Albeit this observation might signal an impending end for care chains in this specific context of migration and intersectional relations within the EU, the here shown evidence is nevertheless not solid enough and would therefore require further investigation.

As seen above, the opinions on this very central aspect in reproductive work differ widely and allow plenty of room for further research and interpretations. By following Asandei’s line of thought, the state wouldn’t possess enough capabilities to satisfy an influx of demands for care personnel, whereas civil actors, such as SenioriNET, criticize its lack of initiative and strategy in effectively utilizing the already available resources. Hence, the question of state (in)ability to ensure vital new labor force for elderly care remains here unconcluded. The role of the different EU programmes to

stimulate job creation and their effects on care work⁸ require also additional attention in future studies on care drain in Romania or, more generally, in the EU as a whole.

Conclusion

The nexus between external migration of family members and care personnel alike, state powerlessness and selective planning, together with an EU regional strategy less disposed towards actively addressing the negative effects of migration within its domain, creates the field in which care drain in one of the EU's most peripheral regions unfolds. The issue affects in particular the elderly, who represent a highly vulnerable group in the face of social marginalization. Although technological advances in communication can help family members maintain contact and mitigate to a certain measure the emotional aspect of care drain (Baldassar & Merla 2014), a fact that is being put to practice also in an organized manner at the FSC, the proximate, "raw" care work is left in most cases at the disposal of alternative and invariably overstretched service providers, outside direct institutional involvement. These endeavors to tackle care drain through civil actors, such as the NGO presented in our study, are nonetheless highly dependent on fluctuant donations and other forms of unstable financial incentives, whereas the lack of solid and secure state or European subsidies limits their activity, both technically and in scope, and forces them to add service fees that are unaffordable for a great number of persons. Romania and Nord-Est alike are also leaning towards a general aging of the population at a relatively rapid pace, which together with the very abrupt changes in family life, gender roles, and scarce availability of care workers, all affected by an on-going process of external migration, will only enhance the scantiness of elderly care

and provision. Bearing here in mind also the here still pending progress in the EU-driven regional development, alongside the massive gamble in strategic planning that the Union takes with the new competitiveness approach, as well as the hitherto insufficient direct contributions into elderly care from its different development instruments, we conclude that Romania and, in particular, the peripheral/peripheralized Nord-Est region are dealing with a care crisis (Isaksen 2008), that holds the situation of many elderly engulfed in uncertainty.

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⁸For instance, "the Integrated Package for Fighting Poverty", negotiated with civil society actors and introduced in 2016 by the short-lived technocratic Romanian Government, mentions also, without clarifying figures, the financing of home care services and of care workers. Concerning this issue, the plan is conjoined with the "The National Strategy for an Active Aging and Protection for the Elderly 2015-2020" and addresses therefore mainly aspects of disease

prevention and an active lifestyle, whereas funding can be made available through the correlation of different EU Programmes. The document, still a draft in August 2017, underlines here the main objective concerning elderly care: its transfer from state institutions to local communities (see Cancelaria Primului Ministru, n.d., para. 65.5).

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Bewegte Ordnungen. Was Alltagsdinge über Migration erzählen

Vorstellung der ethnografischen Forschung zur Migration häuslicher Dinguniversen im Verbundprojekt „Mobile Welten. Zur Migration von Dingen in transkulturellen Gesellschaften“

Im BMBF-Projekt „Mobile Welten“⁹ untersuchen Soziolog*innen und Ethnolog*innen die Rolle von materieller Kultur im Kontext transkultureller Verflechtungen und Veränderungen. Dies geschieht in den Teilprojekten 1 und 2 durch kuratorisches Arbeiten und künstlerisch-partizipatives Forschen. Im ethnologischen Part (Teilprojekt 3) des »Mobile Welten« Projekts, zeigen wir, wie sich individuelle Migrationsgeschichten im Sachbesitz in (post-) migrantischen Haushalten niederschlagen und welchen Stellenwert transkulturelle Dinguniversen für die darin wohnenden Personen besitzen.

Dazu wurden bisher gut ein Dutzend Haushalte von Menschen in ganz verschiedenen Lebenslagen und mit sehr unterschiedlichen biografischen Bezügen ethnografisch dokumentiert. Uns beschäftigt dabei die Frage, welche Bedeutung den Dingen in diesen Kontexten zukommt und welche Rolle sie in alltäglichen Praktiken, Begegnungen und kulturellen Interaktionen spielen, die sich nicht einfach auf bloße Gegensätzlichkeiten reduzieren lassen.

Alltägliche Ordnungen der Dinge sind weder homogen noch können sie als bloßer Ausdruck der Bedeutungshorizonte, Werte und Normen ihrer Bewohner*innen gelten. Die Gegenstände eines Haushalts sind vielmehr Teil eines Aushandlungsprozesses: Ihre Bewertung ist umstritten, ihr Gebrauch wandelt sich, d.h., die Bezüge zu den Dingen werden immer wieder neu definiert, Objekte nehmen in veränderten Bezugsrahmen häufig veränderte Rollen ein. So kann

etwa ein bestimmter Einrichtungsgegenstand in einem sozialen Kontext völlig unspektakulär erscheinen, während er in einem anderen Zusammenhang als offensive Abgrenzung oder Affront wahrgenommen wird. Dahinter können Widersprüche aufgrund unterschiedlicher Werte und Vorstellungen stehen, sei es hinsichtlich Geschlechterrollen oder in Bezug auf das familiäre Zusammenleben und den sich daraus ergebenden Verpflichtungen. In solchen Konfliktfällen, die auch in der häuslichen Dingwelt zum Ausdruck kommen, müssen die Haushaltenden zwischen unterschiedlichen Normen, Ansprüchen und Realitäten verhandeln und navigieren.

Kurz, Menschen und Dinge befinden sich in einem Verhältnis der Bewegung und Veränderung. Ob und inwiefern Gegenstände mit einer der vielen Bedeutungen von »Migration« verflochten sind, hängt beispielsweise gar nicht so sehr davon ab, ob sie besonders »exotisch« oder »fremd« erscheinen. Vielmehr sind es die individuellen Geschichten, Wahrnehmungsweisen und Alltagspraktiken, die auch ein ganz unscheinbares und alltägliches Ding mit Migrationserfahrung verknüpfen und damit zu einem »migrantischen Objekt« machen können. Solche Bezüge sind teils so gewöhnlich, dass sie schwer erkennbar sind und man ihnen oft erst dann gewahr wird, wenn sie irritiert werden.

So können etwa Konsumgüter wie Shampoo, Pflegeprodukte oder Glühbirnen, die z.B. als Mitbringsel dien(t)en, mit wichtigen transnationalen familiären Beziehungen und Ereignissen verbunden sein. Der vermeintlich geringe, symbolische Gehalt dieser Dinge als allgemeine Repräsentationsobjekte macht sie für die auf sie Bezug nehmenden Personen und Zusammenhänge nicht weniger bedeutsam.

Wie sich in diesen Beispielen andeutet, sind Haushalte Schnittstellen und Knotenpunkte individueller sowie gesellschaftlicher Bezüge. Dinge stehen dafür, sich innerhalb

⁹ Das BMBF Projekt "Mobile Welten" ist eine Kooperation zwischen dem Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (MKG) in Hamburg, dem Johann Jacobs Museum in Zürich, der Europa-Universität Viadrina in

Frankfurt (Oder), der Goethe-Universität in Frankfurt a.M. sowie der Erich Kästner-Schule in Hamburg-Farmsen.

bestimmter Gegebenheiten einzurichten – mögen diese nun prekär oder komfortabel, eher selbst gewählt oder auferlegt sein. Sie helfen dabei, Beziehungen zu bewahren und zu schaffen und sich so (neu) in der Gesellschaft zu verorten. Ethnografie ist ein hilfreiches Werkzeug, um solche Prozesse nachzuzeichnen. Die Untersuchung der materiellen Seite von Haushalten bietet eine reichhaltige Quelle, um eine komplexere Vorstellung von transkulturellen Lebenswelten in Deutschland zu gewinnen, die einfache Dichotomien zurückweist und dagegen (Post-) Migration als eine grundlegende Bedingung des Zusammenlebens stark macht.

Da sich Forschungen zu materieller Kultur bislang vornehmlich auf herausgehobene Einzelobjekte konzentrierte, ergibt sich zudem die Notwendigkeit, eine auf alltägliche, mehrdeutige und oftmals kaum diskursiv herausgehobene Dinge und Verknüpfungen ausgerichtete Methode zu entwickeln. Ziel dieses Teilprojektes ist deshalb, eine geeignete Herangehensweise auszuarbeiten, die der Vielschichtigkeit der häuslichen Dinguniversen Rechnung tragen, und zugleich auch die Lebenslagen, die alltäglichen Probleme und die Erwartung an Gegenwart und Zukunft von Migrantinnen in unserer Gesellschaft aufzeigen kann.

Website:

<http://mobile-welten.org/#drei>

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Tracing back Material Leeways of (Post-) Migratory Households

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Summary: Migration is often associated with attributed 'other' or 'exceptional' traits of people and things. This essay will address the topic of material culture and transculturality from a critical everyday life perspective. It is shown that such problematic ascriptions of 'migration' can be questioned by a careful ethnography of how people perceive,

orientate and negotiate themselves, their (gender-) roles, positions and expectations, via domestic orders. This allows understanding (post-) migration beyond simplifying dichotomies or attributed identities.

Point of departure

When one studies the prevalent debates on 'migration' (not just) in Europe the common thread seems to be the closure of borders and the desire to shield against unpredictable threats from outside. This reminds me of what Mary Douglass described in *Purity and Danger* (1984) as practices of exclusion, to defend a notion of purity against menaces of impurity, though in a vastly more fatal and distressing setting¹⁰. In contrast, the point of departure of my perspective on migration and post migration is located within the pulsating processes of societies: everyday life. But where to start, when one cannot anymore unconditionally clasp the margins and boundaries – though many, panic-stricken or calculating, try to hold on to them even more – as the solid ground of the 'midst' turns out to be an unstable terrain? Mobilities and movements across borders, to make this clear once and for all, are one of the basic conditions of societies and this is the reason why one has to start amidst them and not by the evocation of an ominous 'other'.

But what does it mean to be amidst transcultural and transnational life-worlds? A single stroll through a given quarter leads right through various personal, social, material and immaterial meshes of transcultural links and connections. Sometimes these links seem to be obvious, e.g. whenever a certain language is spoken, specific clothes are worn, or some kinds of foods are sold and eaten; sometimes they are hardly recognized, as soon as in a specific context absolutely nothing refers to another place at either first glance or at second.

The question is, where are these entanglements important and where do they remain hidden or insignificant? How people position, understand and delimit themselves is deeply connected with ascriptions of otherness, which shape the perceptions and politics of migration significantly. Blurred

¹⁰ It has to be noted that for Douglas these exclusions which take place occur in various cultural and historical contexts and are not necessarily politically or morally questionable or reprehensible.

boundaries, with regard to some contexts of (post-) migration¹¹, do not mean that the different forms of discrimination, like racism, sexism, or classism in everyday lives have disappeared; rather one can deduct from it the sensitivity necessary to portray the complex negotiations of gender, of diverging cultural norms, values, and perceptions day by day. Materialities of the domestic sphere are a thrilling field for this endeavour.

The illusion of coherence

The notion of coherence is tempting. Some theories, like structuralism, for instance, have fundamentally yielded to this appeal and reduced the plethora of societies to merely systems of symbolic orders. Regarding the material nature of the world of the domestic, one should not tumble into similar pitfalls. Rather than isolating an object, research (on material culture) should be more about grasping moving complexities, as Henri Lefebvre (2004, p. 21), who was well aware of the (spatial) potency of symbols as well as of their subversion, puts it in his rhythm analysis.

Things of the everyday entail a multitude of rhythmic relations, relations of spatial and emotional proximity as well as of distance yet also temporal links to the past, the presence, and the future. Homing devices are entangled with the persons that 'refer' to them in one way or another and their specific surroundings in addition to the 'ways' of being situated. For Sarah Ahmed (2006, p. 28)¹² which things are crucial depends on how we are directed to them (how we perceive them) and how we take direction towards them (e.g. how we cherish or dislike a thing). Although, being directed and taking directions towards surroundings are not just only individual perceptions or stances, rather this ratio towards objects is also guided by lines (ibid, p. 12ff), the societal and cultural aspects I referred to above. These lines facilitate orientation and in a sense lead to the constitution of social space whilst at the same time they also limit and divide

space, and therefore the movements and perceptions within.

This should suffice at this point to show that items can entail completely different meanings and functions in distinct spatial and normative contexts. One cannot make conclusions about materiality by notions of things as being incontrovertible and universal symbols without knowing the backgrounds and dynamics of a person and her or his things. But enough theory, it's time to move to an empirical example of my ethnographic research, to give these thoughts a more tangible character.

The kitchen as a field of conflict

What has become quite clear since the very beginning of my ethnographic fieldwork¹³ was that symbols, which are steadily used to mark 'the difference of the migrant', are the least helpful thing to describe the dwellers and their life circumstances adequately. Embarrassingly finding oneself searching for 'the exotic' and failing all along the line turned out to be an insightful lesson in this regard. Like the aforementioned unsuspecting person, who strolls through the city streets without recognizing its cultural interconnections, I sometimes sat already amidst a field of transcultural links, debates, conflicts, or memories without properly or immediately being aware of it.

One of these places I had such an experience was the kitchen of Ilkay's flat share. Ilkay possesses a kitchenette from the fifties including some cupboards, which blend in very well into the various styles of the furnishings assembled in the flat. Ilkay came to Germany from Turkey when she was a child and was heavily pregnant at the time I firstly met her. As it turned out, the kitchenette for her surprisingly emerged as a 'matter' of conflict concerning gender related obligations, family life, and more generally life style.

As a prospective single mother¹⁴, Ilkay was aware that, from her kinfolks' view, she lives a reprehensible life, not being married and expecting an illegitimate child. However, she

¹¹ See e.g. Levin 2016, p. 204.

¹² Ahmed refers at this juncture on Husserl's idea of a "two-foldedness" of turning towards an object.

¹³ I am conducting this research in transcultural households within the project 'Mobile Worlds. On the Migration of Things in Transcultural

Societies', which is funded by the by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF).

¹⁴ The West African father of her daughter does not fulfil his role, as he went back to West Africa.

was completely taken by surprise, when during a visit of her family the mentioned piece of kitchen furniture became a case of dispute. How could she be so irrational, she was asked, to spend a considerable amount of money on such an old kitchen? The perception and evaluation of the kitchenette could not be more contradictory than by the divergent ways of being directed and taking direction towards the object of concern. While Ilkay loves her kitchenette *because* it is used, and therefore provides a homely, cozy, and a slightly fancy atmosphere, for her family to purchase this worn out and so 'undemonstrable' furniture is nothing more than a proof of another absurdity.

On the one hand, this is an intergenerational conflict yet, on the other, it is also one in which the migratory history of Ilkay's family emerges, as she explains it. These different cultural aspects, especially the notion of what it means to be a good and well-considered mother, plays a part in terms of the relationship to her parents and their expectations but also regarding the bond to her siblings. Ilkay decided to vouch for her own norms and opinions, for her decisions, for her lifestyle, as well as for purchasing this specific piece of furniture. Though, it meant cutting relations with large parts of family, which is, particularly as a single mother, no easy endeavour.

Purity as danger

Such conflicts, like the one I tried to depict here very briefly, are not extraordinary, they occur repeatedly. What I would like to illustrate is that migration research which only focuses on symbols as markers of generally identifiable cultural or gendered identity and merely on difference or distinction fails to understand the dynamics and multilayered dimension of how material culture plays a part. The struggle and striving for personal freedom and emancipation is not always conscious, visible and identifiable by materialities or literally declared as such.

The pugnacious character of Ilkay's way of life that was further ignited by the kitchenette became visible but now, in this critical situation. Ilkay wasn't aware of the consequences her used chattels entailed; an intimate and practical

thing that got out of control and became suddenly offensive. This is the experience of the 'aleatory', unpredictable character of a 'materiality of the encounter' as portrayed by Luis Althusser (2006). Here, things are not steady; rather they are characterized by a radical instability and unpredictability through which things withdraw any attempts of mastering. It is exactly this aspect of the encounter, be it transcultural or not, why an understanding of the material simply as a reassurance of the self falls short.

Ilkay defended what she perceived as pleasant and warm: the bit by bit gathered and purchased assemblage of furniture. As she told me, a couple of times she felt threatened by inflexible notions of family and gender roles she was confronted with many times. By the stance of defending her way of life, Ilkay not only took positions against her family's expectations and morals in a way she also refused to represent a straightforward identity or status to the outside world. In many regards, Ilkay is willing to provide and defend a certain openness for her daughter and herself, for which the danger comes primarily from demands for purity, to adopt Douglas' terms. These presuppositions and claims for coherence threaten the sometimes coincidental and plural ways of living, which emerge despite all presuppositions and constraints.

Tracing back instead of nailing down

What transpires from this family conflict can also be carried over into academic debates on (post-) migration. Instead of continuing the stories of 'the other' or 'the extraordinary', which carry on narratives of exclusion and stubbornly ignore entanglements and dynamics, it is necessary to resist the temptations of the coherent single story. Research on material culture can be a promising tool for looking at how 'productions' of sameness and differences take place¹⁵ and at how complex transcultural links are maintained, negotiated or cut. Such processes imply rhythmic and repetitive practices of ›translations‹, which means the shifting or adaption of things in different contexts and the leeways occurring along with them.

¹⁵ See e.g. Lozanovska 2016, pp. 230.

Ratios of people and materiality are complex; symbolic associations are only one aspect. Additionally, there are various realms of intensity, with regard to proximity and distance on the practical, emotional, spatial, and temporal levels, which have to be scrutinized by taking their backgrounds and the dynamics of daily life into account. Therefore new perspectives are required that imply a revision of history as well as of the common notion of sedentariness to free migration research from its 'state of exception' and to focus on how daily practices of location take place, as Erol Yildiz (2017, p. 20) demands. By this, one can gain understanding of (post-) migration beyond notions of simply identifiable, determined, and therefore inalterable identities.

The telling of Ilkay's kitchenette as a shift from an esteemed chattel to a doubtful and disputed 'matter' thwarts such unidimensional views that neglect the importance of transcultural interrelations in everyday life completely. It is one example of how practices of location take place, (unexpectedly) can be read and contested. Ethnography has the task of tracing back the often tense and controversial field of links to people, places and temporalities and to grasp the course of transformative material practices and indications. It's necessary to put aside the categorical hammer that still stands for the attempt to nail down peoples 'cultural identities' and 'otherness'. In doing justice to the personal, gender, family, as well as cultural and political dimensions of households and how people are related to, interact with and negotiate via domestic items, orders, and arrangements one can discover the critical potential of this day by day (post-) migration research. This means drawing a more adequate picture of contemporary societies, a picture which does not hit the wall of clear-cuts and alleged societal coherence and which instead demands a consideration of conflicts, contradictions, exclusions and transformations.

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Reconfiguring Keywords of Migration and Woman through a Participatory Exhibition Project

A few days ago, I stumbled upon a post entry on Frankfurt Historical Museum's blog reaching out for collaboration to their new exhibition project focusing on migration history in Frankfurt am Main. Mainly, the museum invites migrants from different ethnical and religious backgrounds to a series of workshops concentrating on participatory collection developing. In this framework, the museum seeks to answer the following questions: "*Which objects reflect the cultural diversity and the migration history of our city? What is a "migration collection"? What makes an ordinary object a "migration object", and finally, what kind of information of an object make sense in a museum database?*" (Dori, 2017:<https://blog.historisches-museum-frankfurt.de/sammlungs-check-stellt-sich-vor/>) Basically, the objective of the workshop is to exchange the roles between museum audience and curators. In other words, migrants are invited to discuss new display strategies of migration history in the city.

For a very long time, migration was often represented in museums by displaying suitcases and this can be considered as a romantic representation of migrants: "They pack their little lives" in a suitcase and leave for a foreign country. In many museum displays, suitcases stand for the good old

days, but also for poverty and for the hope for a better life. Furthermore, instead of presenting migrant societies by a variety of themes, museums preferred to link migration to the national history, emphasising the concept of multiculturalism. By this, a picture of different people living together happily was drawn.

The basic problem in this picture is that it doesn't reflect the change in time and space. For instance, the history of migration from Turkey to Germany is composed of three different components; first, guest workers, then, migrants, and finally, the period that we are currently living in, citizens. In the present day, the terminology of "migrant" is mostly replaced with "citizen with migration origin", which shows us the importance of rethinking how to display migration in museums as well.

Immigration Museum in Melbourne held an audience development project in 2001 in order to collect ideas about what objects and stories should be on display, and one of the essential reviews was about the image of suitcase. As Eureka Henrich noted, "[The group] collectively felt that an effort should be made to break down cultural stereotypes, such as what they called the 'suitcase moment'—a term they coined to describe that 'quintessential image of migration of the 1950s'. It represented a romanticised, sanitised image that they felt was no longer relevant." (Henrich, 2011: 71)

In this perspective, it is possible to argue that the main problematical approach to migration exhibitions is in its temporal gap. They mainly display the time period that migrants arrived to their hosting country through the stories mostly concentrating on their problems of housing and employment in the perspective of integration, while they very rarely reflect on their life period. In other words, there exists an essential gap about their struggles through the years, achievements in the present day, and goals for the future. Therefore, participation of people with migration backgrounds in museum projects plays a crucial role to democratize the narratives of minorities. In this manner, "[t]he trend is moving towards participative museums that encourage involvement from all social groups and that

understand integration as a two-way process. A change of perspective will allow people to see the museum in a new light, and the museum to see the world in a new light. Active involvement from visitors will ideally facilitate a new understanding of the past and the present, culture and the environment, and much more besides." (NEMO, 2016: 4)

Nina Simon, the author of very well-known museology book *The Participatory Museum*, seeks to answer the following question: "How can cultural institutions use participatory techniques not just to give visitors a voice, but to develop experiences that are more valuable and compelling for everyone?" (Simon, 2010: 1) In other words, whether the objective is to promote dialogue or creative expression, the key concept lies in design techniques and Simon explains the essential differences between traditional and participatory exhibition design process as following:

"The chief difference between traditional and participatory design techniques is the way that information flows between institutions and users. In traditional exhibits and programs, the institution provides content for visitors to consume. Designers focus on making the content consistent and high quality, so that every visitor, regardless of her background or interests, receives a reliably good experience. In contrast, in participatory projects, the institution supports multi-directional content experiences. The institution serves as a "platform" that connects different users who act as content creators, distributors, consumers, critics, and collaborators. This means the institution cannot guarantee the consistency of visitor experiences. Instead, the institution provides opportunities for diverse visitor co-produced experiences." (Simon, 2010: 2)

Unless museum visitors are asked to fill out a visitor book, a questionnaire, or an evaluation form, they visit exhibition rooms and then leave without any trace. Indeed, in the perspective of new museology which is based on democracy and participation, it is possible to observe the contribution of individuals to organization of exhibitions, collections and auxiliary activities through the concept of audience. Audience is a term mostly used in media studies. Nevertheless, it is not a coincidence of using 'audience' instead of 'visitor' in discussions of participatory museum projects. As 'audience' defines an individual who receives messages consistently, it also features permanent, mutual and active characteristics

of museum communication strategies. (Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt and Runnel, 2014: 47)

In this process, oral history projects emerged as one of the common ways of individual contributions to museum collections. Oral history is a tool for learning about people, places, and events. In other words, it is a tool for collecting memories, and it is also a very common methodology for collecting migration stories from older generations. The objective is to archive individual stories in order to make possible new migration narratives, which are beyond “a tiny suitcase full of frustrations and hope.” At this point, personal and institutional archives play a crucial role as they hold primary resource materials. They can be considered instruments to tell their own stories beyond dissatisfaction, desire, homeland, abroad, homesickness, problematic encounters with citizens of hosting countries, road trips to homeland, letters, diaries, smell of black tea, etc. Indeed, personal and institutional archives of migrants include more detailed information about their personal, professional, organizational, and daily lives of migrant people.

In this conceptual framework, the participatory exhibition project of Migrant Women Association in Germany (GKB), “*World from Female Perspective!*”, which was held in IG Metall-Haus Berlin from July 13th to September 8th, 2017, aimed to reconfigure the keywords of migration and woman by displaying their struggles, achievements, and goals through their archival materials. Migrant Women Association in Germany (GKB) was founded in 2005 in Frankfurt am Main. Today, existing as city associations and groups in 22 German cities with their more than 500 members and more than 4000 participants, they discuss socio-political agenda of women both in their hosting countries and their home-countries. The migrant women, coming from different regions of Turkey with various ethnical and religious backgrounds, develop collaborative projects with both German feminist associations and also other migrant women coming from different parts of the world. Their common struggle mainly focuses on social life, working conditions, and migration laws. (GKB, 2017: <http://www.migrantinnen.net/disilperspektiften-dunya/>)

As it can be obviously deliberated, GKB holds an enormous amount of archival material housed both in central office and in regional branches. Therefore, as the curator of the participatory project, I recommended to develop the exhibition conceptual framework by basing on GKB’s 12 years old archives and reached out regions for their participation by sending us photos, flyers, brochures, flags, banners, hand-made materials, etc. Then, Mehtap Çallı (Berlin) and Pelin Şener (Cologne), as the members of GKB Central Executive Board and the coordinators of the participatory exhibition project, took over the communication among GKB members in different German cities. They were basically collecting comments from the members, and after discussing together, we were transferring the main idea to the design team: to a space designer and a graphic designer. Curatorial and design tools that we preferred to apply in this project played an essential role in receiving more contribution from more women. As Nina Simon mentioned above, in this participatory exhibition project, information—a.k.a. exhibition materials—was produced by women and we, as the exhibition team, tried to make happen their requests in form of space and graphic design. In other words, as “professional” members of the exhibition team, our goal was to keep the project in its conceptual framework regarding exhibition materials, space design, exhibition poster, PR materials, etc. Indeed, firstly, the participatory project, and secondly, the exhibition room was considered as a platform of free expression for Migrant Women Association in Germany (GKB) in order to tell their own stories through their own narratives. Depending on the nature of materials, the exhibition room was divided into five sections: “*A Female Dictionary: ABC of Migrant Women Association in Germany*”, “*A Room of One’s Own*”, “*Photo Album*”, “*reMake—reLive*”, and “*Chest*”.

2015 was the 10th anniversary of Migrant Women Association in Germany, and in the framework of anniversary festival, which was held in November 2015 in Cologne, we organized our first participatory exhibition project: “*A Female Dictionary*”:

ABC of Migrant Women Association in Germany."

word in Turkish alphabet that starts with Ğ. The first reac-



"A Female Dictionary: ABC of Migrant Women Association in Germany", Photo by © Ece Gökalp

As the curator again, I developed the conceptual framework by basing it on Turkish alphabet. In the central workshop, in August 2015 in Frankfurt am Main, the women were asked to write down words starting with each letter of the alphabet that came up in their mind. Then the women organised regional workshops and collected more suggested words. After having the wordpool, entries for the dictionary was decided by the advisory board of the project, which was formed by Duygu Aloglu, Mehtap Çallı, Sidar Çarman, and Pelin Şener. Then, each word was assigned to one region, and the women in regions were asked to write a short description of the word and visualize it by sending suggested images that they took or found. My role, as the curator, was developing the concept, organizing the central workshop, following up with regional workshops, and collecting word-pools coming from regions. I was also playing a role of editor for the dictionary and trying to make advisory board not selecting similar words and diversify entries from notions and objects to colours and exclamations. At the end, 11 city associations/groups got involved in the project: Berlin, Dortmund, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, Geislingen, Göppingen, Hamburg, Cologne, Nürnberg, Rüsselsheim and Stuttgart.

One of the moments that I keep recalling in the perspective of participation was the discussion of Ğ / G-Breve. Nevertheless, Ğ is a unique letter in Turkish alphabet. There ain't

tion from women was, "Let's remove it!" It was an option, but I insisted. "Let's think in a different way. What does Ğ represent to you?" We had a few moments of silence. Then a woman from Nürnberg started to talk. "There ain't Turkish word starting with Ğ, but we have several words including Ğ." The woman next to her, who was also from Nürnberg, continued, "so it is a must." Other women across the table joined them, "it is part of us." "We should have it." "We can't accept its absence." Then it came to the visualization. "Let's say a puzzle, and a piece of the puzzle is absent." "What about a mirror?" "Yes, a mirror in the form of puzzle and one of its piece is absent." "We can also put our Logo on the mirror."

After Ğ was assigned to Nürnberg, we had a few phone calls, emails back and forth, and they sent me their suggested text and image. In the perspective of conducting a participatory project, on phone calls, I only tried to answer their questions about editorial works, and also aimed to motivate them. Eventually, here is what Ğ represents to migrant woman from Nürnberg:

"Ğ appears in the alphabetic list of letters but then it is disregarded in our LANGUAGE..."

There is no any word starting with it;

We don't have any FEELING,

We don't have any THOUGHT,

We don't have any BELONGING

ANY

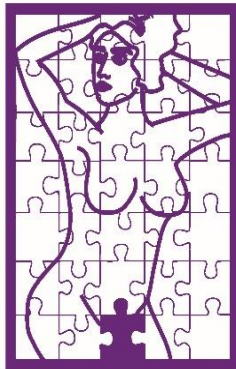
Starting with Ć.

We know,

We are women, we are disregarded.

However, we are women, we do EXIST.

We PROLIFERATE.”



After exhibited in Cologne (2015), in Frankfurt am Main (2016), and in Istanbul—in the form of exhibition booklets—(2016), “A Female Dictionary: ABC of Migrant Women Association in Germany” was on display in Berlin. Moreover, it is finally also available on web: <http://woerterbuch.bda119.de/>

On the other hand, “*A Room of One’s Own*”, was composed of front pages of “Kadın/Frau” (Woman) magazine of GKB. Each issue of the magazine is a room which includes various discussions of women’s experiences, expectations, requests, struggles and solidarity. A copy of all issues was displayed in “*reMake—reLive*” section aligned with information materials from GKB Archives, and handmade materials as they are part of economy-political struggle of GKB in regard of recycling. “*Chest*” was representing the visibility of GKB women on the streets through their banners, flags, tote bags, and t-shirts. These are the materials through which GKB women can reach to another woman.



“*A Room of One’s Own*”, Photo by © Ece Gökalp

It is possible to consider “*Photo Album*” section as the core memory of GKB’s struggles in Germany. It is a selection of a photo archive composed of thousands of materials coming from different regions. After GKB women made their regional selection, they sent the materials to Pelin (Şener), and she gathered together the final album. Pelin (Şener) paid an extra attention to include all representativeness of GKB based on regions, events, collaborations, campaigns, fairs, concerts, Frau cafés, conferences, reading clubs etc. In this regard, receiving photos from various regions of GKB increased women’s participation in the exhibition project. Even though, they have not visited neither exhibition space nor Berlin, they were part of the exhibition. “



“*Photo Album*”, Photo by © Ece Gökalp

To conclude, “*World from Female Perspective!*” was a participatory exhibition project of Migrant Women Association in Germany (GKB), and it was designed as a platform of free expression for migrant women coming from Turkey and living in different German cities. The GKB members participated in the exhibition by sending us various materials

including photos, flyers, banners, brochures, t-shirts, etc. representing their regional working groups. In this framework, the project aimed to repose the keywords of migration and women with the objective of raising more attention to their struggles, achievements, and goals which cannot be packed simply in a suitcase.



“Chest”, Photo by © Ece Gökalp

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Fußball in der Migrationsgesellschaft

Bildet sich die Migrationsgesellschaft in den Fußballstadien der Fußballbundesliga¹⁶ ab?

Fußball verbindet. Wo sonst, wenn nicht in dem weltweit beliebten und für viele Menschen attraktiven Sport kommen Menschen unabhängig von ihrer Herkunft, ihrer Hautfarbe und ihres sozialen Status zusammen? Die Stadien der ersten Bundesliga sind immer weitestgehend voll, annähernd 13 Millionen Menschen besuchten die Spiele in der Saison 2015/16. Auf dem Platz wird Vielfalt gelebt, auf den Tribünen sollten körperliche und soziale Unterschiede keine Rolle spielen, denn das gleiche Fantrikot, die Farben des eigenen Vereins überdecken alle für Ungleichheit ausschlaggebenden Merkmale, die in der Gesellschaft zu Ausgrenzung führen. Das Selbstverständnis der Vereine und Verbände im Fußball liest sich entsprechend. Demnach bringt die Integrationskraft und das Verbindende des Fußballs Menschen unabhängig von askriptiven Merkmalen, wie z.B. der ethnischen Herkunft, zusammen. Die Bekenntnisse für Vielfalt und Offenheit allen Kulturen gegenüber finden sich in verschiedenen Vereins- und Verbandssatzungen.

Tatsächlich wurden in der o.g. Saison von zahlreichen Fans und überwiegend von linkspolitisch aktiven Ultragruppen Aktionen für Geflüchtete durchgeführt. „Refugees Welcome“-Transparente in den Fankurven wiesen das Stadion als antirassistischen Ort aus. Clubs luden Geflüchtete zu

¹⁶Der folgende Text bezieht sich ausschließlich auf Männerfußball

Spielen ein und bezogen damit Position als eine integrative, offene Institution in der Stadt. Sozialpädagogisch arbeitende Fanprojekte organisierten in ihrem Aufgabenfeld der Antidiskriminierung Turniere und Begegnungen von jugendlichen Fans und fußballbegeisterten geflüchteten Kindern und Jugendlichen. Aber ist die Vielfalt, die in der Migrationsgesellschaft Normalität ist, tatsächlich auch im Fußball vorhanden?

Im vorliegenden Artikel werden Fußball und Fans als Forschungsfeld in Bezug zu einer die Migrationsgesellschaft abbildenden Diversität beleuchtet. Es wird Bezug genommen auf die ersten beiden Teilprojekte der wissenschaftlichen Studie „Diversität unter Fußballfans“. Diese wurde von März 2015 - Februar 2016 aus dem „Pool zur Förderung innovativer Fußball- und Fankultur“ (PFIFF) der DFL- Deutschen Fußball Liga GmbH finanziert und war von Juni 2016 bis März 2017 angesiedelt am Forschungskolleg „Zukunft menschlich gestalten“ (FoKoS) der Universität Siegen.

Schließlich wird skizziert, welche Handlungsempfehlungen sich aus den bisherigen Erkenntnissen generieren lassen.

Das Forschungsfeld Fußball, genauer der Kommunikationsraum Stadion, wurde für diese Untersuchung gewählt, da dieser Sport als relevant für eine Gesellschaft und ihren Umgang mit Bedingungen der Migrationstatsache angenommen wird. Die Populärkultur Fußball wird als wichtige zivilgesellschaftliche Institution betrachtet, deren Wirkmacht über das rein Sportliche hinausreicht (Hebestreit 2012). Aus Akteurperspektive wird davon ausgegangen, dass das Stadion besonders für Jugendliche einen wichtigen Sozialisationsort darstellt. Dieser Feldauswahl liegt zu Grunde, dass es einen Zusammenhang zwischen Stadiongemeinschaft und Stadtgesellschaft gibt, der entsprechend erkenntnisreich für die Beschreibung von sozial wirkmächtigen Ausschlussmechanismen, Zugehörigkeitskontexten und Vergemeinschaftungsprozessen ist. Die Fußballfanforschung soll daher fruchtbar gemacht werden für eine Untersuchung der von Migration und Mobilität geprägten Stadtgesellschaft.

Fußballfan-Studien

Im Folgenden soll ein Überblick über den derzeitigen Forschungsstand zum Verhältnis Fußball und Gesellschaft

bezüglich der Themenbereiche Migration und Fußball, Ungleichheitskategorien und Rassismus gegeben werden. Die sozialwissenschaftliche Fußballforschung ist in Deutschland im Vergleich zu Großbritannien noch nicht sehr lange wissenschaftlich institutionalisiert. Den Schwerpunkt bilden Forschungen mit gewaltsoziologischem Fokus; zu nennen sind vorrangig die Arbeiten von Heitmeyer und Pilz (Pilz 1981; Pilz et al. 1982; Heitmeyer/Peter 1988; Heitmeyer, et.al. 1988). Innerhalb dieses Schwerpunkts differenzierte sich die Forschung zu deviantem Verhalten aus. Eine Perspektive verfolgt Verknüpfungen mit sub- und jugendkulturellen Szenen und erforscht einzelne Gesellungsformen, wie die Unterscheidung von Fantypen, Hooliganismus und Ultrakultur (Winands 2015, Kathöfer/Kotthaus 2013, Pilz et.al. 2006). Gleichzeitig werden Rechtsextremismus und Nationalismus im Zusammenhang mit Fußball thematisiert (Dembowski 2007, Heitmeyer 1988, Duben 2015).

Die Leerstelle in der Erforschung von Migrationsphänomenen aus Perspektive der Fußballforschung wird in theoretischen Arbeiten bemerkt (u.a. von Selmer/Schwenzer 2010). Eine Unterrepräsentanz von Migrantinnen und Migranten in den Stadien wird zumindest in explorativen Fußballforschungen als nicht intendierter Befund mit Hinweis auf notwendige Anschlussforschung beschrieben (Winands 2015, Pilz 2006). So konstatieren Pilz et.al. bei ihren Studien zur Ultrakultur den immer noch geringen Frauenanteil und den geringen Anteil an Migranten bzw. Migrantinnen in den Stadien. Studien und Fanbefragungen, u.a. in Berlin und Hannover, bestätigen diesen Befund, blieben jedoch unveröffentlicht oder wurden als Praxisprojekte durchgeführt, nicht jedoch systematisiert und blieben letztlich unwissenschaftlich (vgl. Schenzer/Selmer 2012).

Winands stellt bei seinen Feldforschungen zur Ultrakultur im Stadion die (Un-) Sichtbarkeit von Ethnizität fest: „(...) die Anzahl derer, bei denen aufgrund ihrer äußerlichen Differenz zur autochthonen Bevölkerung ein Migrationshintergrund vermutet werden konnte, (war) verschwindend gering“ (Winands 2015, 252). Die Diversität hinsichtlich ethnischer Markierungen, die schließlich die Normalität in einer Einwanderungsgesellschaft darstellen, bildet sich demnach

im Fußballstadion nicht ab, wenngleich davon ausgegangen werden kann, dass Fußball nicht nur in Deutschland zu den beliebtesten Sportarten zählt (ebd., 253).

Studien zur Sozialstruktur im Stadion weisen nach, dass das Fußballpublikum heterogen ist. Fürtjes (2013, vgl. auch Fürtjes und Hagenah 2011) zeigt in seinen sozialstruktur-analytischen Forschungen aus historischer Perspektive, dass der Fußball seit seiner Etablierung in Deutschland zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts „ein schichtübergreifendes Massenphänomen“ darstellt. Er weist nach, dass sich eine der Gesamtgesellschaft entsprechende Sozialstruktur im Fußballpublikum zeigt.

Eine detaillierte Studie zur Sozialstruktur und zum Verhalten des Fußballpublikums legte Bromberger (2001) für Italien und Frankreich vor. Er hat in seinen ethnologischen Studien die Sozialstruktur der Zuschauer in Stadien in Frankreich und Italien (u.a. Marseille, Turin und Neapel) zur jeweiligen Stadtstruktur in Beziehung gesetzt. Die Publikumsstruktur ist demnach ein Abbild der Stadt. Die Stadionbesucher gruppieren sich innerhalb der Arenen der untersuchten Städte nach denselben Kategorien, wie sie sie in Stadtvierteln segregiert leben. Nach Horaks Lesart dieser Befunde Brombergers ist das Stadion „als eine Art Stadtplan zu lesen, als ein Ort, an dem die Zurschaustellung sozialer Beziehungen und kultureller Praxen zu beobachten wäre“ (Horak 2008, 14). Hinsichtlich ethnischer Vielfalt kann dieser in Italien und Frankreich erhobene Befund für Deutschland nicht angenommen werden.

Bezogen auf Untersuchungen zu Ungleichheitskategorien liegen Arbeiten zu Geschlecht und Geschlechterkonstruktionen vor (vgl. Claus, 2016, Sülzle, 2005). Hinsichtlich Gender-Aspekten sieht Sülzle im Stadion einen „wichtigen Ort gesellschaftlich wirksamer Konstruktionen von Männlichkeit“, auch unabhängig der empirisch nachgewiesenen geringen Anzahl an Frauen in den Stadien - gemessen an der gesellschaftlichen Verteilung. (Sülzle, 2005, 39).

Nach Pilz (2006, 16) ist das Stadion ein „Brennglas gesellschaftlicher Entwicklungen und Problemfelder“, insbesondere auch rechtsextreme und fremdenfeindliche Entwicklungen betreffend. Gabriel (2008, 43) wendet das Brennglas-Bild hinsichtlich

rechtsextremer Tendenzen und Rassismus an. Auch Dembowski sieht Phänomene wie Rechtsextremismus „im Fußball wie durch eine Lupe an Schärfe gewinnen“ (Dembowski, 2007). Schubert sieht im Fußball einen „Seismograph für rechtsextreme Stimmung in der deutschen Gesellschaft“ (Schubert, 2009, 5). „Fußballspiele“, so Scheuble und Wehner, seien „nicht von Politik und nationaler Identität zu trennen“ (Scheuble/Wehner 2006, 26).

In Differenz dazu sieht eine andere Lesart des Fanverhaltens im Stadion eine Egalisierung gesellschaftlicher Differenzkategorien und Problemfelder. Struktur analog zu anderen rituellen Großgruppen, z.B. religiöse Messen oder Karneval, werden in solchen Ritualen gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse nicht gespiegelt oder verstärkt, vielmehr stellen sie nach Moser eine Gegenstruktur zur Realität dar:

„Gerade durch die vereinheitlichende Kleidung und das vereinheitlichende Verhalten gelingt es gar nicht, sich sozial so stark zu distinguieren, wie dies im Alltag der Fall ist. Der Habitus der Fußballfans ist tendenziell einheitlich, ungeachtet der sozialen Stellung, welche die jeweiligen Individuen außerhalb des Stadions innehaben“ (Moser 2012, 70).

Unklar bleibt, wie genau sich diese Egalisierung darstellt und wie wirkmächtig sie für Menschen ist, die außerhalb des Stadions ausgegrenzt werden. Das Stadion kann als Ort der „Außeralltäglichkeit“ beschrieben werden, an den gesellschaftlichen Konventionen in der Großgruppe überschritten werden können Vgl. Bronner, (Intersektionalität). Doch dieses außeralltägliche Agieren im Stadion ist kein außergesellschaftliches - die Teilnahme dort ist ebenso an Machtverhältnisse gekoppelt: Man muss teilnehmen dürfen (Claus, 2016, 41). Die gesellschaftlich relevanten askriptiven Merkmale werden im Fußball keineswegs obsolet. Der „komplexen und dynamischen Konfiguration des Fußballpublikums“ wird man nach Horak nicht gerecht, wenn man diese als „homogene Masse“ der Gleichgesinnten beschreibt (Horak 2008, 14). Dem „gesellschaftlichen Zerrbild“ im Stadion ist zu eigen, dass es zwar einerseits eigenen Regeln folgt, andererseits jedoch nicht unabhängig von gesellschaftlichen

Entwicklungen ist (Pilz u.a. 2006, 361). Mit der Erkenntnis von Pilz et.al. aus ihren umfangreichen Fanforschungen, dass „(...) das Stadion und die Stadionkultur vorwiegend männlich, heterosexuell und mono-ethnisch geprägt sind“ (Pilz u.a. 2006, 360) wird deutlich, dass das Forschungsprojekt einen Schwerpunkt auf die Dialektik Fußballkultur und gesellschaftliche Bedingungen legen muss.

Wir gegen die Anderen. Ein Blick auf die kulturelle Logik des Fußballs

Der Ordnungsrahmen der kategorialen Zuordnungen im Fußball (und grundsätzlich im Teamsport) sieht eine dichotome Unterscheidung in eine Wir-Gruppe und eine Gruppe der Anderen vor. Die Clubzugehörigkeit im Stadion markiert die Differenz, nach der das eigene vom gegnerischen Team, die eigenen Fans von den Fans des Gegners, die Heim- von der separierten Gästetribüne usw. unterschieden wird. Diese Konstruktion ist interessant und implizit konfliktträchtig, weil das „Wir“ und die „Anderen“ als Rassismus-Motiv konstitutiv ist (vgl. Rommelpacher 2009). Die Konformität durch die äußerlich zur Schau getragene Kostümierung, die einen als Angehörigen der einen oder der anderen Fangemeinschaft ausweist, entfaltet eine „tendenziell egalisierende Wirkung“ (Moser, 2012, 70). Das Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl der „Solidargemeinschaft“ (Prosser 2002, 289 ff., zitiert nach Moser 2012, 70) im Stadion stärkt das Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zur Wir-Gruppe und speist sich nicht zuletzt auch aus der Existenz der Anderen, den Anhängern des gegnerischen Clubs. Mit Nina Degele kann zusammengefasst werden: „Fußball verbindet – durch Ausgrenzung“ (Degele, 2009).

Durch das emotionalisierte, fanatische Zusammentreffen, dem Agieren in der anonymen Masse bieten Stadien entsprechend ein Feld, auf welchem sowohl Zusammengehörigkeit als auch Ausschluss praktiziert wird. Dabei liegt die Besonderheit im Fußball im Betonen seiner Tradition, seiner lokalen Bindungen. „Dem Verein zugeschriebene Werte und symbolische Bedeutungen speisen sich aus der Konstruktion der Vereinsgeschichte, die eng mit dem lokalen Imaginären des Stadtteils der Stadt verknüpft ist“ (Schwenzer / Selmer 2010, 392). Herkunft kann über die

identifikatorische Verbindung zu einem Verein und seiner Geschichte angeeignet werden.

Schäfer und Roose (2008) weisen mit den Grundlagenwerken von Tönnies, Durkheim und Weber und deren Bestimmung des Gegensatzpaares Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft die Vergemeinschaftung von Fußballfans anhand der Gemeinschaftsdimensionen Identifikation, Interaktion und Kollektivwohlorientierung nach. Diese moderne Form der Vergemeinschaftung charakterisiert demnach die Identifikation mit dem Fanobjekt, dem Fußballclub, der subjektiv empfunden Gruppenzugehörigkeit, sowie die affektiv-emotionale Interaktion. Der freiwilligen, emotionalen Teilnahme an einer Gemeinschaft steht bei Tönnies der zweckrationale, vernünftige oder konstruierte Charakter der Gesellschaft gegenüber. Das Zusammenleben in einer Großstadt ist ein Beispiel dafür (Tönnies, 1979).

Insgesamt wird die Notwendigkeit nach einem Forschungssetting deutlich, welches die Normalisierungspraktiken innerhalb des Fußballs fokussiert. Wenn man die Problematik einer ethnischen Kulturalisierung fortlaufend beachtet und sich der Erforschung von Fußballkulturen zuwendet, gilt in zweifacher Hinsicht das Postulat von Sökefeld (2004, 17): „Kultur erklärt nichts - sie muss selbst erklärt werden.“ Es ist ein differenz- und dominanzsensibler Ansatz zu wählen, welcher sowohl Konstruktionen als auch Wechselbeziehungen und Aushandlungsprozesse gesellschaftlicher und fußballspezifischer Normalität in den Blick nimmt. Die diversitätsfokussierende Perspektive betont den konstruktivistischen Charakter des Anderen. Um diese Unterscheidungspraxis zu verdeutlichen, führt Mecheril (2004, 2010) den Begriff Migrationsandere ein.

„Migrationsandere (sind) Ausdruck einer gesellschaftlichen – also: einer politischen und einer kulturellen – Relation. (...) Migrationsandere ist also ein Wort, das zum Ausdruck bringt, dass es «Migranten» und «Ausländerinnen» und komplementär «Nicht-Migranten» und «Nicht-Ausländerinnen»

nicht an sich, sondern nur als relationale Phänomene gibt“ (Mecheril 2004, 24).

In Abgrenzung zu immer noch wirkmächtigen Integrations- und Assimilationskonzepten wird im Sinne der kritischen Migrations- und Rassismusforschung der Migrationsandere als Handlungs-subjekt betrachtet. Ebenso grenzt sich diese Perspektive der Subjektivierung von einer defizitorientierten Betrachtung Migrationsanderer als Opfer von Diskriminierung ab. Zentral stehen die Forschungsfragen: Warum fühlt man sich einer Fußballclub-Fangemeinschaft zugehörig? Welche Bedeutung hat Migrationsgeschichte in der Fußballfangemeinschaft? Wie positioniert sich der Migrationsandere (als so Bezeichneter) im Feld der Fußballfankultur unter den Bedingungen von Diskriminierung?

Die Studie „Diversität unter Fußballfans“ (Zwischenergebnisse)

In einem methodenkombinierten Design wurden verschiedene Erhebungen durchgeführt. Diese Kombination unterschiedlicher Methoden war kennzeichnend für das Projekt. Aufgrund der bislang fehlenden Forschungsarbeiten, die Migrations- und Fanforschung verbinden, wurde ein in Teilen heuristisches Vorgehen gewählt, um Erkenntnisse als Anschlussmöglichkeit für weitere Forschungstätigkeiten zu generieren.

Es wurden zwei quantitative Fanbefragungen bei zwei Heimspielen eines Bundesligisten durchgeführt, um Hinweise auf die Anteile der Fans mit Migrationsgeschichte während der Spiele zu erhalten. Ein Vereinsportrait sollte die Voraussetzungen für eine diversitätssensible Ausrichtung des Clubs prüfen. Anschließend wurde mit qualitativen Methoden die Rolle des Clubs hinsichtlich der Fans und ihrer Migrationsgeschichten untersucht. Ein Experteninterview mit zwei Fanbeauftragten des Clubs wurde dazu geführt. Die Bedeutung des Fußballs, insbesondere die emotionale Zugehörigkeit von Jugendlichen mit Migrationsgeschichte zu einem Profiverein stand bei zwei Gruppendiskussionen mit Jugendlichen im Vordergrund.

Zunächst interessierte im ersten Teil der Forschungsarbeit die Überprüfung der Wahrnehmung, dass Menschen mit

Migrationsgeschichte in den Stadien der Proficlubs unterrepräsentiert seien. In einem ersten empirischen Schritt fanden daher zwei Zuschauerbefragungen im Heim-Stadion des untersuchten Bundesligisten statt. Diese dienten zunächst dazu, einen Überblick darüber zu liefern, welche Bevölkerungsgruppen im Stadion über- und welche unterrepräsentiert (Alter, Geschlecht, Herkunft) sind. Es boten sich im Vorfeld verschiedene Durchführungsmethoden an. Um einer systematischen Stichprobenziehung Rechnung zu tragen, wurde auf eine Online-Befragung (Problem der Selbstselektion) ebenso verzichtet, wie auf die Befragung von Vereinsmitgliedern, da diese Erhebung (Methodik) das Kriterium der Mitgliedschaft vorausgesetzt hätte, (Problem der eingeschränkten Grundgesamtheit). Vielmehr ging es entscheidend um die Teilnahme an den Inszenierungen im Stadion. Um schließlich die zentrale Fragestellung nach der Anzahl der Menschen mit Migrationsgeschichte beantworten zu können eignete sich am besten eine Vor-Ort-Zuschauerbefragung. Als Erhebungseinheit wurden die tatsächlich körperlich im Stadion anwesenden Personen ausgewählt. Die Untersuchungseinheit ist mit der Erhebungseinheit identisch, d.h. die Anwesenheit im Stadion ist das Kriterium für die Wahrnehmungsüberprüfung

Mittels Fragebogen wurden von einer Stichprobe sozialstrukturelle Merkmale (Alter, Geschlecht, Ausbildung, Wohnort), Charakteristika der Anhängerschaft (Anzahl besuchter Spiele, Platz im Stadion) und verschiedene fußballbezogene Einstellungsfragen erhoben. Die entscheidende Frage war hierbei die nach der natio-ethno-kulturellen Herkunft, konkret der (familiären) Migrationsgeschichte. Daher sollten die Befragten neben dem eigenen, auch den Geburtsort und das Geburtsland der Eltern und Großeltern angeben. Die Stichprobe wurde über eine einfache Zufallsauswahl erhoben. Um einen hohen Rücklauf gewährleisten zu können und eine möglichst gleich verteilte Anzahl Befragter aus den verschiedenen Bereichen des Stadions zu erhalten, wurde eine kombinierte Quoten- und Zufallsauswahl vorgenommen (vgl. Stollenwerk, 1996, 38ff.) Es ergab sich bei den zwei Spielen eine Grundgesamtheit $N=96.936$. Insgesamt wurden 350 Fragebögen in den 2,5 Stunden zwischen Einlass bis Anpfiff verteilt. Die Rücklaufquote war mit 55 %

recht hoch. Bezogen auf die beiden Befragungen ergeben sich bei der ersten Spielpaarung ein Rücklauf von 107 von 175 Fragebögen (Quote 61%), bei der zweiten Spielpaarung ein Rücklauf von 86 von 175 Fragebögen und somit eine Quote von 49%. Die Fragebögen wurden anschließend in das Statistikprogramm SPSS eingegeben und ausgewertet.

Anhand des von den Vereinen zur Verfügung gestellten Datenmaterials zu den Mitgliedern des Vereins sollen charakteristische Merkmale herausgearbeitet werden hinsichtlich der Sozialstruktur der Mitglieder und stadtteilbezogener Charakteristika (u.a. Verteilung der Fanclubs, Einzugsgebiet der Dauerkarteninhaber). Des Weiteren wurde in diesem Vereinsportrait das Leitbild des Clubs hinsichtlich des Forschungsthemas untersucht. Es wurden Experteninterviews mit zwei Fanbeauftragten des Clubs durchgeführt. Als Experten standen zwei der insgesamt drei Fanbeauftragten des Clubs zur Verfügung. Sie wurden aufgrund ihrer Reputation und ihrer Position als relevante Akteure im Forschungsfeld und zu der Forschungsfrage ausgewählt. Zudem sind sie an relevanten Entscheidungen die Fans betreffend verantwortlich involviert. Ihnen ist die Lebenswelt der Fans vertraut.

Zudem wurden vier Gruppendiskussionen mit Jugendlichen durchgeführt. Es wurde keine Vorgabe hinsichtlich eigener Migrationsgeschichte und Geschlecht der jugendlichen Gesprächsteilnehmer_innen gemacht. Vielmehr war davon auszugehen, dass sich bei einer diversen Schülerschaft an der Schule eine entsprechend diverse Gesprächsrunde ergeben würde. Der Migrationsanteil der Schülerschaft entsprach mit ca. 39,7% annähernd dem Anteilswert an Migrationsgeschichten der Stadt.

Zentral standen Fragen nach der Bedeutung des Fußballs bzw. des Fußballerlebens, der Vereinszugehörigkeit, sowie nach möglichen Ausgrenzungs- und Diskriminierungserfahrungen im Kontext Fußball.

In der ersten, einjährigen Projektlaufzeit des o.g. Projekts erhärteten sich die Hinweise darauf, dass sich die diverse Stadtgesellschaft nicht im Stadionpublikum spiegelt. Quantitative Fanbefragungen bei zwei Heimspielen des Bundesligaklubs lieferten den Befund, dass lediglich vier der 193

befragten Zuschauer_innen nicht in Deutschland geboren wurden. Die Personen mit Migrationsgeschichte waren - gemessen am Anteil in der Stadtgesellschaft - unterrepräsentiert. Dies wird auf Grundlage des geringen Datensatzes bewusst zurückhaltend formuliert. Betrachtet man die große Gruppe türkeistämmiger Menschen in Deutschland bzw. in der untersuchten Stadt, so irritiert der Befund von lediglich jeweils einer Angabe des Geburtslandes Türkei unter den Eltern- und Großelternausprägungen. Der Blick in die Daten ergibt, dass es sich hierbei um einen 22jährigen, in Deutschland geborenen Mann handelt, der als einziger eine familiäre türkeistämmige Migrationsgeschichte vorweist. Für belastungsfähigere Befunde werden weitere Fanbefragungen mit einem größeren Datensatz in verschiedenen Fußballstadien als notwendig erachtet.

Hinsichtlich des Vergleiches der Stadiongemeinschaft mit der Stadtgesellschaft wird nun auf den städtischen Ausländeranteil und den Anteil der Menschen mit Migrationsgeschichte geblickt. Der Ausländeranteil der Stadt des Fußballclubs betrug bei 1.04 Mio. Einwohnern 17% im Jahr 2014 (Statistisches Jahrbuch 2015: 24). 186.995 Ausländer_innen lebten in 2014 in der Stadt, diejenigen mit türkischer Staatsangehörigkeit bildeten mit 30,6 % den größte Gruppe unter ihnen (ebd. 39). Im Jahr 2014 hatten 376.220 Einwohner_innen einen Migrationshintergrund, das entspricht 35,7% der Gesamtstadtbevölkerung (ebd. 41). Davon sind 189.225 deutsche Staatsangehörige mit Migrationshintergrund (ebd. S.44). Blickt man auf die Zahl der Einbürgerungen (2528), fallen vor allem Einwohner mit früherer türkischer Nationalität mit 28,4% im Jahr 2014 ins Gewicht (ebd. 62ff).

Im Expertengespräch wurden diese Hinweise gestützt, da sich die Vereinsvertreter den Befund aus ihrem Erfahrungswissen heraus bestätigten und angaben, dass die Gruppe der „Migranten“ schon Ziel für Anwerbung gewesen sei. Sowohl die Experten, als auch die Jugendlichen der Gruppengespräche, sahen die Familie ursächlich für die Clubwahl. Diskriminierungserfahrungen im Stadion gaben die Befragten mit Migrationsgeschichte nicht an als Grund für das Fernbleiben an. Vielmehr wurde aus Perspektive der Jugendlichen das

Stadion als Ort eines homogenen, ethnisch einheitlichen und gemäß der nationalen Liga zuzuordnenden Publikums beschrieben, in dem Migrationsandere sich nicht einfänden. Die Jugendlichen lieferten mit ihren Aussagen Hinweise, denen hinsichtlich Ausgrenzungsmechanismen nachgegangen werden muss. Sie finden sich in Beschreibungen des „Unwohl Fühlens“, sowie in der Annahme, dass im Stadion „Leute unter sich“ sind. Dies verweist auf ein stärker ethnografisch angelegtes Forschungsdesign, welches Erkenntnisse über die Atmosphäre im Stadion, die fußballkulturellen Konventionen, Traditionen und Konstruktionen der Zugehörigkeiten liefert.

Der Einfluss der Fußballclubs kann hierbei als eher gering eingeschätzt werden, da der Einfluss der Familie bei der Clubwahl sehr stark ist. Dies wird von allen Jugendlichen, die einen Lieblingsclub haben, in den Gesprächen betont. Auffallend ist, dass der Fußball zudem keine Möglichkeit der Mehrfachzugehörigkeiten zu bieten scheint; fußballkulturell herrscht ein „entweder-oder“ vor, während „sowohl als auch“ bei der großen Bedeutung des Lieblingsclubs keine Alternative darstellt. Der Entscheidungszwang, der von manchen Gesprächsteilnehmer_innen anschaulich an Streits innerhalb der Familie und den Beeinflussungen der Kinder verdeutlicht wird, verweist - übertragen auf das Integrationssthema - eher auf Assimilationskonzepte als auf gegenwärtige Vielfalts- und postmigrantische Positionen (vgl. Yildiz, 2013). Die quantitativen Erhebungen lieferten Hinweise darauf, dass die „gelebte Diversität“ (Bukow 2010, 101) im Fußballstadion nicht auffindbar ist. Der gelingende Umgang mit Fremdheit, den Bukow durch die historische Entwicklung der von ihm untersuchten Stadtviertel (ebd. 108ff) erklärt, wird im Stadion nicht eingeübt. Die „bemerkenswerte(n) Veränderungsresistenz der Fußballfankultur“ wird sichtbar (Sülzle 39).

Der Fußball mit seiner gesellschaftlichen Bedeutung - und insbesondere der Club als Markenzeichen der Stadt - ist, das wurde in den Interviews deutlich, nicht lediglich eine Sportart bzw. ein Sportverein. Er ist emotional aufgeladen, definiert Zugehörigkeiten und markiert die Stadt. Im Stadion

sind die Fans aus der Stadt und der Region, wie anhand der Postleitzahlen-Verteilung der quantitativen Erhebung erkannt wurde. Das Stadion kann als Kommunikationsraum beschrieben werden, in dem sich eine nach Alter, Bildungsgrad und Beruf heterogene Gruppe regional ansässiger Fußballfans trifft. Demgegenüber steht die Homogenität hinsichtlich ethnischer Herkunft. Mosers (2012) Beschreibung des Fußballpublikums als „einheitliche Masse“ findet sich in den Aussagen der Jugendlichen wieder, sofern man auf die ethnische Kategorie fokussiert. Das Stadion als „ideale(r) Rahmen, um das Bedürfnis der Menschen nach Gemeinschaft zu befriedigen“ (Moser 2012, 69), enthält aus Perspektive der Jugendlichen eine ethnisch definierte Gemeinschaft. Über familiäre Bindungen und lebensweltliche Bezüge zum Herkunftskontext der Eltern oder Großeltern differenzieren die Interviewten zwischen nationalen Ligen, zum Beispiel zwischen deutschen oder türkischen Fußball, dem wiederum entsprechende ethnische Fangruppen zugeordnet werden, oder einfacher gesagt: In deutschen Stadien sind deutsche und in türkischen Stadien türkische Fans anzutreffen. Das Stadion, so lässt sich mit Blick auf die quantitativen und qualitativen Erhebungen resümieren, ist insgesamt also kein Ort, „an dem herrschende Normen in Frage gestellt und eine andere urbane Selbstverständlichkeit erzeugt wird“ (Yildiz, 2016, 5).

Schlussfolgerungen für die Praxis: Diversity

Hinsichtlich der postulierten Integrationskraft im Selbstverständnis des Fußballs - und insbesondere in der Selbstdarstellung der Vereine - ergibt sich folgende wichtige Annahme für diese Forschungsarbeit: Im Gegensatz zu anderen Organisationen, welche Vielfalt organisieren und im Sinne des Diversity-Management handeln wollen, bedeutet dies für den Fußball zunächst nicht „Mehraufwand, Konflikte und Disharmonie verursachend(e)“ Irritationen (Munsch 2010, 158), sondern drückt vielmehr einen wichtigen Teil dessen Selbstverständnisses aus.

Diversity bezieht sich nicht nur auf ethnische Zugehörigkeiten sowie die Definition und das Verhältnis von „Wir und die Anderen“, zwischen als deutsch und als nicht-deutsch markierten Menschen, sondern konzentriert sich auf die bessere

Wahrnehmung, Förderung und Partizipation von Minderheiten als soziale Gruppen, denen aufgrund bestimmter Merkmale der Zugang zu Ressourcen und sozialen Positionen erschwert ist. Wichtig für die Selbstwahrnehmung sollte eine Zielformulierung sein, die vorsieht zu analysieren, inwieweit der eigene Club für unterschiedliche Gruppen grundsätzlich offen ist. Die Gefahr beim Abbilden und Repräsentieren von Vielfalt im Sinne einer „interkulturellen Öffnung“ ist die Überbetonung von (vermeintlicher) Kultur, ein zugeschriebener „Migrationshintergrund“ oder vermeintlich ethnische Zugehörigkeit, die repräsentiert wird mit dem Ergebnis, Klischees zu reproduzieren, Vorurteile zu bedienen. (Mecheril/Plöbner 2011, 285).

Gerade die Expert_innen der sozialpädagogischen Fanprojekte sollten eine diversitätssensible Fanarbeit initiieren und vor allem eine Mitwirkung der aktiven Fanszene fördern. Zudem deckt sich die Durchführung von pädagogischen Maßnahmen mit den im Nationalen Konzept festgeschriebenen Aufgabenbestimmungen der Fanprojekte, konkret mit der „Teilnahme an der Lebenswelt der Fußballanhänger [...], Organisation von Jugendbegegnungen, Bildungsarbeit [...] und kulturpädagogischer Arbeit“ (NKSS 2012, S.12). Die Beschreibung eines Arbeitsziels im NKSS, welches eine „diversitätssensible Arbeit mit Fußballfans“ ausführt oder grundlegend diversitätssensible Arbeitsgrundlagen definiert, erscheint ebenso zeit- wie sachgemäß.

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Literatur zum Themenschwerpunkt

Anderson, Bridget (2000): *Doing the Dirty Work?: The Global Politics of Domestic Labour*. London: Zed Books. ISBN: 9781856497619.

There has been a tendency amongst feminists to see domestic work as the great leveller, a common burden imposed on all women equally by patriarchy. This unique study of migrant domestic workers in the North uncovers some uncomfortable facts about the race and class aspects of domestic oppression. Based on original research, it looks at the racialisation of paid domestic labour in the North - a phenomenon which challenges feminism and political theory at a fundamental level.

The book opens with an exploration of the public/private divide and an overview of the debates on women and power. The author goes on to provide a map of employment patterns of migrant women in domestic work in the North; she describes the work they perform, their living and working conditions and their employment relations. A chapter on the US explores the connections between slavery and contemporary domestic service while a section on commodification examines the extent to which migrant domestic workers are not selling their labour but their whole personhood. The book also looks at the role of the Other in managing dirt, death and pollution and the effects of the feminisation of the labour market - as middle class white women have greater presence in the public sphere, they are more likely to push responsibility for domestic work onto other women.

In its depiction of the treatment of women from the South by women in the North, the book asks some difficult questions about the common bond of womanhood. Packed with information on the numbers of migrant women working as domestics, the racism, immigration or employment legislation that constrains their lives, and testimonies from the workers themselves, this is the most comprehensive study of migrant domestic workers available.

Bednarz-Braun, Iris & Ulrike Heß-Meining (2004): *Migration, Ethnie und Geschlecht: Theorieansätze — Forschungsstand — Forschungsperspektiven*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS. ISBN: 978-3-8100-3754-1.

Das Ziel der vorliegenden Publikation ist es, die geschlechterspezifische Seite von Migration und interethnischen

Beziehungen innerhalb einer multi-ethnisch gestalteten Gesellschaft deutlich zu machen. Zunächst werden theoretische Debatten und analytische Konzepte zum Zusammenhang von Migration, Ethnie und Geschlecht - auch aus dem angelsächsischen Raum - nachgezeichnet. Es folgen Informationen über den empirischen Forschungsstand in Deutschland, konzentriert auf ausgewählte Lebensbereiche: Familie, Bildung, Ausbildung und Freizeit. Die vorhandene Datenlage verweist darauf, dass sich Lebensgestaltungs- und Entfaltungsmöglichkeiten nach Ethnie- und Geschlechtszugehörigkeit ausdifferenzieren. Eine Analyse dieser Unterschiede führt zu der Frage, auf welche sozialen Rahmenbedingungen und Konstruktionen sich bestehende Ungleichheitslagen, aber auch Wandlungsprozesse zurückführen lassen. Das Buch ist für PraktikerInnen, PolitikerInnen und WissenschaftlerInnen aufschlussreich, die sich mit geschlechterbezogenen Fragestellungen des Zusammenlebens und der gesellschaftlichen Teilhabechancen von in der Bundesrepublik lebenden zugewanderten und einheimischen Bevölkerungsgruppen befassen.

Kofman, Eleonore, Annie Phizacklea, Parvati Raghuram, and Rosemary Sales (2000): *Gender and International Migration in Europe: Employment, Welfare and Politics*. New York and London: Routledge.

ISBN: 0-415-16730-2, 978-0-415-16730-7.

Gender and International Migration in Europe is a unique work which introduces a gender dimension into theories of contemporary migrations. As the European Union seeks to extend equal opportunities, increasingly restrictionist immigration policies and the persistence of racism, deny autonomy and choice to migrant women. This work demonstrates how processes of globalisation and change in state policies on employment and welfare have maintained a demand for diverse forms of gendered immigration. The authors examine state and European Union policies of immigration control, family reunion, refugees and the management of immigrant and ethnic minority communities. Most importantly this work considers the opportunities created for political activity by migrant women and the extent to which they are able to influence and participate in mainstream policy-making. This volume will be essential reading for anyone involved in or interested in modern European immigration policy.

Lutz, Helma (Hrsg.) (2009): Gender Mobil? Geschlecht und Migration in transnationalen Räumen. Münster: Verl. Westfäl. Dampfboot. ISBN: 978-3-89691-226-8.

Mobilität gilt als Voraussetzung spätmoderner Lebensweisen und des Endes von Nationalstaaten. Dennoch schränken Grenzregime Menschen in ihrer Bewegung ein, hindern sie bisweilen gänzlich am Zugang zu (supra)staatlichen Räumen. Wie mobil aber sind Menschen in modernen Gesellschaften? Welchen Einfluss haben Migrationsprozesse auf Geschlechterverhältnisse bei MigrantInnen wie auch in deren Herkunfts- und Ankunfts-gesellschaften? Mit Hilfe welcher Theorien und Methoden lässt sich menschliche Mobilität mit all ihren Konsequenzen, z.B. Enträumlichung von Lebensformen, erfassen? Alle diese Fragen beleuchten Aspekte von Mobilität und Gender – und ermöglichen eine tiefergehende Auseinandersetzung mit Geschlecht in seiner Überkreuzung mit Nationalität, Ethnizität, Sexualität, Klasse, Alter oder Religion. Die AutorInnen widmen sich den komplexen Zusammenhängen von Menschen in Bewegung, Reisenden Identitäten, Reisenden Methoden sowie Reisenden Theorien und Theoretikerinnen. Es schreiben u.a. Ursula Apitzsch, Kathy Davis, Gudrun-Axeli Knapp, Ilse Lenz, Mirjana Morokvasic, Ewa Palenga-Möllnbeck, Ann Phoenix, Elisabeth Tuider.

Oso, Laura and Natalia Ribas-Mateos (2013): The International Handbook on Gender, Migration and Transnationalism: Global and Development Perspectives. Cheltenham and Northampton: Edward Elgar. ISBN: 9781781951460.

The International Handbook on Gender, Migration and Transnationalism represents a state-of-the-art review of the critical importance of the links between gender and migration in a globalizing world. It draws on original, largely field-based contributions by authors across a range of disciplinary provenances worldwide.

This unprecedented and ambitious Handbook addresses core debates on issues of gender, migration, transnationalism and development from a migration–development nexus. The volume explores the influence of global changes – and more specifically transnational migration flows – from the perspective of the articulation of production and reproduction chains. Particular attention is paid to so-called ‘global care chains’ with new analytical models developed around the emerging trends played out by women in contemporary mobility dynamics.

This Handbook will provide a thought-provoking resource for a multidisciplinary audience of academics, researchers and students of social science disciplines encompassing: economics, sociology, geography, demography, political science and political sociology, migration studies, family and gender studies, and labour markets. The Handbook will also be of major interest and importance to local and national governments, international agencies and their policymakers and administrators.

Willis, Katie (ed.) (2000): Gender and Migration. Cheltenham and Northampton: Edward Elgar. ISBN: 9781840640731.

This volume demonstrates the ways in which a gender perspective has been incorporated into existing themes and methods of migration research and has also led to the development of new areas of interest. It draws together the most important published articles on gender and migration in North America, Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia in order to highlight major theoretical developments relating to employment, gender relations, household organisation, identity, citizenship, transnationalism and migration policy. In the introduction the editors provide an overview of these key developments in gender and migration research, as well as suggesting topics for future research. Gender and Migration will be a valuable resource for demographers, geographers and gender studies researchers.

Tagungen & Veranstaltungen

Migration und Männlichkeit(en): Aktuelle Debatten der Kritischen Intersektionalen

Männlichkeitsforschung“, 18.11.2017, Leipzig

Die politischen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse in Europa werden derzeit spürbar von Diskursen über Geflüchtete, Migrant_innen, Zuwanderung und Multikulturalität bestimmt. Migrationsphänomene konstituieren dabei die soziale, kulturelle und politische „Wirklichkeit“ Europas und diese „Wirklichkeiten“ bedingen wiederum die Verhandlung und (Re)Konstruktion von Geschlechterverhältnissen.

Für die Kritische Männlichkeits- und Migrationsforschung bedeutet dies, sich mit neuen Phänomenen der Konstituierung und Subjektivierung von Männlichkeit(en) auseinanderzusetzen.

Insbesondere Bilder des „Fremden“ und „Anderen“ bestimmen Debatten um Männlichkeit(en) im Kontext von Migrationsphänomenen, weshalb es notwendig erscheint, Diskurse über „kulturelle Differenz“, Männlichkeiten und Ungleichheit theoretisch aufzugreifen und die spezifische intersektionale Produktion „migrantischer“ Männlichkeit in den Blick zu nehmen.

Die Tagung möchte intersektionale Forschungsperspektiven auf Männlichkeit(en) eröffnen und im Kontext des Bezugs zur Migrationsgesellschaft in theoretischen als auch empirischen Annäherungen der Frage nach der Konstruktion und Marginalisierung von Männlichkeit(en) nachgehen. Zudem soll ein Bezug zur Praxis von Initiativen und

Selbstorganisationen hergestellt werden, um Einblicke in ermächtigende Handlungsperspektiven im Umgang mit interdependenten Diskriminierungspraxen zu geben.

In Kürze erhalten Sie nähere Informationen zur Tagung und ein detailliertes Tagungsprogramm. Bis dahin würden wir uns freuen, wenn Sie sich den Termin bereits vormerken könnten und diese Vorankündigung an interessierte Personen weiterleiten.

Der Eintritt ist frei und die Tagung bedarf keiner Anmeldung.

Kontakt für Konferenzorganisation und Rückfragen:

Lisa König: fragen@uni-leipzig.de

Webseite: fragen.uni-leipzig.de

Geschlechtergleichstellung im Migrationskontext geltend gestalten“, 28.11.17, Hannover

Die Vermittlung der Gleichstellung der Geschlechter in einer vielfältigen Gesellschaft schließt an Debatten um eigene und andere kulturelle Werte und Prägungen an. Eine Verständigung über Werte und Rechte ist für unser Zusammenleben von zentraler Bedeutung.

An unserem Fachtag möchten wir gemeinsam mit Ihnen – auch mit Blick auf die praktische Arbeit – vielfältige Aspekte beleuchten, wie unsere Gesellschaft geschlechtergerecht und integrativer gestaltet werden kann.

Das breite Vortrags- und Workshop-Programm aus Wissenschaft und Praxis richtet sich an alle Akteur_innen der Arbeitsfelder Flucht, Migration, Gleichstellung und Teilhabe. Unser detailliertes Programm, die Einladung und der Link zur Anmeldung (Anmeldung erforderlich) sind hier für Sie abrufbar:

E-Mail g-mit-niedersachsen@vnb.de

Web <http://www.g-mit-niedersachsen.de>

<https://www.facebook.com/g.mit.niedersachsen/>

Ein Projekt in Trägerschaft des Vereins Niedersächsischer Bildungsinitiativen e.V.

Tagesworkshop „Wo bleibt die Sorge? Für eine (Re-)Politisierung der Sorge-Arbeit“, 25. 11. 2017, Berlin

Seit Jahrzehnten problematisieren Feministinnen theoretisch wie praktisch den gesellschaftlichen Status von Sorge-Arbeit. Obwohl diese Arbeit für das (Über-)Leben der Einzelnen sowie der Gesellschaft im Gesamten unabdingbar ist, hat diese Arbeit nach wie vor eine enorm unsichtbare und deregulierte Existenz.

Wie kommt es dazu, dass Sorge-Arbeit einen derart problematischen gesellschaftlichen Stellenwert hat? Sind dafür allein normative Vorstellungen und Leitbilder über Sorge,

Haushalt, Familie, Frauen und/oder Geschlecht verantwortlich?

Neben der Diskussion solcher Fragen, wird der Workshop die Möglichkeit eröffnen, ausgehend von den eigenen biographischen Lebenserfahrungen die Perspektive auf den Bereich der Sorge zu erweitern sowie eine Verknüpfung herzustellen zwischen gesellschaftlicher Struktur und individueller Lebensgestaltung. Letztlich wollen wir in dem Workshop der Frage nachgehen, wie eine (Re-)Politisierung der Sorge-Arbeit aussehen könnte, die ‚gute‘ Sorge-Bedingungen für alle Beteiligte ermöglichen könnte. Informationen und Anmeldung: <https://programm.bildungswerk-boell.de/index.php?kathaupt=11&knr=17-1108&kursname=W+bleibt+die+Sorge+Fuer+eine+Re-Politisierung+der+Sorge-Arbeit&#inhalt>

Calls for papers

The Migration Conference, 2018, Lisbon

Dear Colleagues,

On behalf of the Organizing Committee we cordially invite you to The Migration Conference 2018. The conference will be hosted by ISEG and IGOT at the University of Lisbon and will convene from Tuesday 26 June to Thursday 28 June 2018. This world congress of Migration Studies creates a forum where scholars, experts, young researchers and students, practitioners and policy makers are encouraged to exchange knowledge, share research and debate the issues that challenge existing modes and models of migration, discourses to understand human mobility, ponder about better policies and practices.

Special Tracks inviting submissions: Migration theory | Communications, media and mobility | Gender and mobility | Transnational Social Spaces, Cities and Migration | Gypsies and mobility | Law and Policy | Conflicts and War | Integration & labour markets | Literature and migration

| Diasporas and identity | Internal - international migration nexus | Data and methodology | Remittances and development | Movers and non-movers | Germany's refugee policy

Submissions of papers and posters are welcome from scholars, experts, practitioners, policy makers and PhD students carrying out research in the field of migration.

The conference will convene in ISEG at the University of Lisbon in Portuguese capital.

We look forward to seeing you in Lisbon, and if you have any questions please do contact us at: migrationscholar@gmail.com.

On behalf of the Conference Committee
Ibrahim Sirkeci, João Peixoto, Maria Lucinda Fonseca, Jeffrey Cohen, Philip Martin, Gudrun Biffl (Conference Chairs)

Contact: migrationscholar@gmail.com | Website: migrationcenter.org | @MigrationLetter

9th Nordic Migration Research Conference 2018 (NMR-Conference)

New (Im)mobilities: Migration and Race in the Era of Authoritarianism

The Institute for Research on Migration and Ethnicity and Society (REMESO) therefore invites to the 19th Nordic Migration Research Conference New (Im)mobilities: Migration and Race in the Era of Authoritarianism, 15–17 August 2018, in Norrköping, Sweden.

Call for Workshop Proposals

REMESO and Nordic Migration Research now invite proposals for workshops to be held during the conference.

We welcome thematic workshop proposals from across all disciplinary fields focusing on a wide range of topics that are relevant for scholars of international migration and ethnic relations.

Submissions for workshop proposals should include a workshop title, no more than 400 words overview of the rationale of the workshop and the names and affiliation of the organizers (minimum 2) of the workshop.

Deadline for proposals is November 20, 2017.

Send to: NMRconference2018.REMESO@liu.se

ICMDHS 2018 : 20th International Conference on Migration, Development and Human Security Paris, France, January 25 - 26, 2018

Call for Papers

The ICMDHS 2018: 20th International Conference on Migration, Development and Human Security is the premier interdisciplinary platform for the presentation of new advances and research results in the fields of Migration, Development and Human Security. The conference will bring together leading academic scientists, researchers and scholars in the domain of interest from around the world. Topics of interest for submission include, but are not limited to:

- Migration, Development and Human Security
- Border areas and human security
- Climate change and human security
- Conceptualizing Human Security
- Coping with contingencies and emergencies
- Critical assessment of human security framework
- Cultural and social values and human security
- Demographic trends
- Detecting and measuring people trafficked
- Developing countries' approaches to human security
- Displacements and Exploitative Migration
- Economic obstacles to human security (low income, economic inequity)
- Economics and human security
- Ecuritisation and the framing of migration policy in an era of economic downturns
- Education and human security
- Employment and human security
- Engendering human security
- Environmental Crisis, Gender and Migration
- Ethical-Political Dimensions of migration and global justice
- Ethics and human security
- External threats to human security
- Extra-regional powers and human security
- Food security
- Globalization and its effects
- Governmental policies and human security
- Human rights and human security
- Human security and democracy
- Human security and drug smuggling
- Human security and natural disaster: earthquakes, drought, flood, etc
- Human security and population growth
- Human security and terrorism
- Human security and the application of new communication and information technologies
- Human security and the protection of the environment
- Human security education
- Human security in the context of violence and conflict
- Human security in the world: present status and future prospects
- Humans security and cultural diversity
- Humans security and humanitarian interventions
- Humans security and national sovereignty of countries
- Immigration and human security
- Internal policies and human security
- Internal threats to human security
- International organizations and human security
- Internationalization
- Law and human security
- Liberalization
- Local barriers to human security
- Participation in public life
- Pathology of humans security
- People trafficking, human security and development
- Prevention, victim support and rehabilitation
- Protecting physical integrity

- Regional factors affecting human security
- Role of regional security and human security
- Technology, environments and natural/man-made disasters
- Universalization

- Urban security
- Westernization

<https://www.waset.org/conference/2018/01/paris/ICMDHS>

Motherhood, Mobility, Migration Symposium

14-15 June 2018, Ireland

Call for Papers

In alignment with growing international mobility, more and more women find themselves mothering in countries other than those in which they were born. According to the International Migration Report published by the United Nations, in 2015, the proportion of female migrants was 48% and they outnumbered men in Europe and North America. Furthermore, the average migrating woman is of a reproductive age (29) and comes from a country where female identity centres on motherhood (Hochschild). In the face of an evolving conceptualisation of motherhood, changing mothering practices and shifting patterns of global mobility, motherhood in the context of migration urgently needs to be redefined.

Migrant mothers are progressively stronger agents of their own lives and identities, participating in the globalised world as gendered individuals and maternal agents. However, both motherhood and migration are experiences that often fall outside of individual control. It is, therefore, important to study points of intersection between motherhood and migration, individual agency and societal structures. Migrant mothers do not constitute a homogeneous group; they often differ significantly in terms of education, class, cultural background and social and economic conditions. The circumstances and motivation for their decision to leave often vary widely. Despite these many differences, migrant mothers often find themselves facing similar issues when it comes to negotiating identity and belonging, the language(s) and cultural style(s) of mothering in the host country as well as social structures, including provision and access to child-care and integration into the work force.

Motherhood and migration has been a subject of study within feminist migration studies, sociology, literary scholarship, diaspora studies, socio-linguistics, anthropology, and gender studies to name just a few fields. Despite the rich potential of these many research perspectives on motherhood and migration, much of the terrain is still uncharted. This conference seeks to analyse connections between motherhood, mothering practices, mobility and migration by interrogating the role, the experience, and the meaning of motherhood in the face of global mobility and migration. Researchers from a wide range of disciplines and cultural perspectives are encouraged to submit proposals for papers that engage with mothers, mothering and motherhood in relation to the following (and related) topics:

- current refugee crisis
- expatriation
- tied migration
- economic migration
- transnational adoption
- assisted reproduction
- diasporas
- (un)belonging
- cultural memory
- religion
- sexuality
- transnationalism
- multilingualism/translingualism
- mobile subjectivities/identities
- nomadism
- international career advancement
- paternity
- abortion

Please send your proposals (200 words max. per proposed paper) for 20-min papers or for panels of 3 x 20-min papers, accompanied by 100-word profiles for each proposed speaker, to the organiser Eglė Kačkutė (egle.kackute@mu.ie) by 15 January 2018.

4th conference of the ESREA Migration, Transnationalism and Racisms Network

Building solidarities for Anti-Racist Adult Education
13-15th June 2018, Edinburgh

Key dates:

The deadline for the submission of abstracts will be January 7th, 2018

The acceptance of proposals will be announced by February 15th, 2018

Full papers (max. 5000 words) should be submitted by May 13th, 2018

Submission of Proposals

This conference invites contributions which explore adult education and learning in all its forms (formal and informal), and locations (community, workplace, institutional), in relation to migration and the new lines of exclusion, social hierarchies and social solidarities that have emerged. Within the framework of adult education and learning, relevant topics might include:

The role of adult education (research and practice) in migration regimes

Critical approaches to the role of adult education in the acquisition of a national language in migration regimes

Strategic alliance building and the development of anti-racist initiatives

The challenges and learning processes in grass-root social movements and migrant organisations

How models of integration, resettlement and education policies shape activities and agendas of organisations, and the future which can be imagined for refugees and migrants

The strategies and pathways forged by transnational migrants as they confront everyday exclusions and racism in increasingly hostile environments

The contribution of adult education research and practice to building solidarities, anti-racism and learning for democracy

The gendered, classed and racialized nature of migration
Critical reflections on knowledge production and research into migration

Proposals are invited for individual papers and/or round tables related to the conference questions. Abstracts should be one side of A4 maximum (500 words in 12 point) and should include a title but not the author/s name/s or institution/s. These should be stated in the email accompanying the abstract together with name, institutional affiliation, and contact details. Authors should indicate which of the conference sub-themes they are addressing. Accepted abstracts will be downloadable in PDF-format on the Conference website.

Abstracts should be submitted to l.m.morrice@sussex.ac.uk

Neuerscheinungen

Hillmann, Felicitas (2016): Migration: eine Einführung aus sozialgeographischer Perspektive. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. ISBN: 978-3-515-10636-8

Migration stellt ein zentrales Thema in der Geographie dar: Dieses Lehrbuch führt in die grundlegenden theoretischen Konzepte seit Beginn der Fachgeschichte bis zur Herausbildung der „neuen Geographien der Migration“ ein.

Historische und aktuelle regionale Beispiele zeigen, wie Migration als Ausdruck und Triebkraft sozialen und räumlichen Wandels wirkte und heute einen elementaren Bestandteil der globalisierten Welt bildet. Lange wurde „Migration“

als Teil der Bevölkerungsgeographie diskutiert, neuerdings finden zunehmend auch international diskutierte Konzepte der Migrationsforschung Eingang in die Sozialgeographie.

Das Lehrbuch greift diese neueren Entwicklungslinien beispielhaft auf und stellt die unterschiedlichen Forschungsfelder und Forschungsansätze vor. Empirische Beispiele illustrieren, wie Migration mit globalen Dynamiken, beispielsweise Klimawandel und Urbanisierung, interagiert.

Brettell, Carolina B. (2016): Gender and Migration. Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press. ISBN: 978-0-7456-8788-9

Gender roles, relations, and ideologies are major aspects of migration. This timely book argues that understanding gender relations is vital to a full and more nuanced explanation of both the causes and the consequences of migration, in the past and at present. Through an exploration of gendered labor markets, laws and policies, and the transnational model of migration, Caroline Brettell tackles a

variety of issues such as how gender shapes the roles that men and women play in the construction of immigrant family and community life, debates concerning transnational motherhood, and how gender structures the immigrant experience for men and women more broadly.

This book will appeal to students and scholars of immigration, race and ethnicity, and gender studies and offers a definitive guide to the key conceptual issues surrounding gender and migration

Triandafyllidou, Anna; Irina Isaakyan and Giuseppe Schiavone (2016): *High-Skill Migration and Recession Gendered Perspectives*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. ISBN: 9781137467102

Sonya, Michel & Ito Peng (2017): *Gender, migration, and the work of care a multi-scalar approach to the Pacific Rim*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. ISBN: 9783319550855.

This book explores how around the world, women's increased presence in the labor force has reorganized the division of labor in households, affecting different regions depending on their cultures, economies, and politics; as well as the nature and size of their welfare states and the gendering of employment opportunities. As one result, the authors find, women are increasingly migrating from the global south to become care workers in the global north. This volume

Women migrants are doubly-disadvantaged by their sex and outsider status when moving to a new country. Highly skilled women are no exception to this rule. This book explores the complex relationship between gender and high-skill migration, with a special focus on the impact of the current economic crisis on highly skilled women-migrants in Europe.

focuses on changing patterns of family and gender relations, migration, and care work in the countries surrounding the Pacific Rim—a global epicenter of transnational care migration. Using a multi-scalar approach that addresses micro, meso, and macro levels, chapters examine three domains: care provisioning, the supply of and demand for care work, and the shaping and framing of care. The analysis reveals that multiple forms of global inequalities are now playing out in the most intimate of spaces.

Lutz, Helma und Anna Amelina (2017): *Gender, Migration, Transnationalisierung: eine intersektionelle Einführung*. Bielefeld: Transcript. ISBN: 978-3-8376-3796-0.

Diese sozialwissenschaftliche Einführung nähert sich den Themen Geschlecht und Migration aus einer intersektionellen Perspektive, die die Verknüpfung von Geschlechterverhältnissen und Migrationsprozessen in den Vordergrund stellt. In systematischer und didaktisch aufbereiteter Form stellen

Helma Lutz und Anna Amelina aktuelle gendersoziologische, intersektionelle und transnationale Theorien vor und verdeutlichen sie am Beispiel der Forschungsfelder transnationale Familien, Care-Arbeit und (Staats-)Bürgerschaft. Das Buch richtet sich an Studierende und Lehrende sozialwissenschaftlicher BA- und MA-Studiengänge im Bereich Gender Studies, Migration, Diversität, Transnationalität und soziale Ungleichheit. Zu jedem Kapitel werden Spiel- und Dokumentarfilme vorgestellt, die der Visualisierung von Themen- und Forschungsfeldern dienen – ergänzt durch Übungsfragen, die sowohl das Selbststudium als auch Semindiskussionen ermöglichen.

Nächste Feministische GeoRundMail: Ausblick und Aufruf

In der kommenden Ausgabe der feministischen Georundmail soll es einen Rückblick auf die Tagungen KKG (Kritischer Kongress der Geographie) und DKG (Deutscher Kongress der Geographie) geben, die in Tübingen im September stattgefunden haben. Das Heft soll die Bandbreite der feministischen Themen und Debatten auf den Tagungen

widerspiegeln. Wir freuen uns auf kurze und längere Beiträge (Paper, Kurzbeiträge, Essays, Reviews, Kommentare, Vorstellungen von Forschungsprojekten usw.) zu eigenen und von anderen gehaltenen oder organisierten Vorträgen, Sitzungen oder Diskussionsveranstaltungen. Beiträge

können bis zum 20.12.2017 gesendet werden an: gomesde-matos@em.uni-frankfurt.de"

Impressum

Die feministische Geo-RundMail erscheint vier Mal im Jahr. Inhaltlich gestaltet wird sie abwechselnd von Geograph_innen mit Interesse an Genderforschung in der Geographie, die (fast alle) an verschiedenen Universitäten des deutschsprachigen Raums arbeiten. Beiträge und Literaturhinweise können an die aktuellen Herausgeber_innen gesandt werden. Deren Kontakt ist dem oben stehenden Ausblick sowie dem jeweils aktuellen Call for Papers für die nächste Ausgabe zu entnehmen.

Aktuelle Nummern, Call for Papers und Archiv sind verfügbar unter:

<http://ak-geographie-geschlecht.org/rundmail>

Neu-Anmeldung und Änderung der Mailadresse unter

<http://lists.ak-geographie-geschlecht.org/mailman/list-info/rundmail>